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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

VOL. 3. ST. LOUIS, JANUARY, 1908. NO. 1.

THE SOCIETY DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS.

In Memoriam:

MARY LOUISE DALTON.

In the death of Mary Louise Dalton which occurred on June 13, 1907, the Missouri Historical Society, and, indeed, the whole State of Missouri, has suffered an incalculable loss.

Miss Dalton was chosen as librarian of the Historical Society on April 4, 1903, and from that time until a few days before her untimely death she rendered to the Society devoted and most effective service.

Born in Missouri, of distinguished pioneer ancestry, she loved her State and its people, and was eager to contribute to the public welfare to the full measure of her ability.

Endowed by nature with a keen and alert mind, which she had broadened and strengthened by well-directed and continuous training, she was quick to perceive the relations and values of the materials for history which she discovered, and indefatigable in their pursuit.

Her knowledge of the history of Missouri, both along the broad lines and in detail, was surprising in its extent and its

accuracy. Whether the question related to French, Spanish or Americans, Confederates or Federals, she was equally interested and equally ready.

While she was a person of decided opinions, she was little disposed to force those opinions upon others. Her sympathies were of the broadest: she recognized no monopoly of good, and in her friendships she drew no lines of creed or class. Such was her sincerity and enthusiasm in her work that she was able to persuade the most indifferent persons of the importance and desirability of what she sought to accomplish, and frequently to secure their loyal support.

In her historical work she had a passion for accuracy, that was with her a matter of character. A statement of fact made upon the basis of probabilities or upon insufficient evidence, appeared to her to be dishonest.

She forgot herself in her work. She made no clamor for recognition. If the work were well done it was enough.

Many articles that she published in magazines and newspapers were unsigned, and she took no care to preserve copies.

In the discharge of her duties she was unresting, often in disregard of the limitations set for her by a certain delicacy of constitution. Even in an interval of her last illness she returned to her desk and undertook to clear up the work which had accumulated in her absence.

Complainings and ill-natured criticism were foreign to her disposition. She met every fortune with an equal courage, and her unfailing cheerfulness was an inspiration.

On her last day she expressed to her attending physician her regret that she had lost the power to smile and to so make known to her friends her thankfulness for their kindly services.

She died just at the time when her powers and her judgment were ripening to their best.

"A noble soul, *forte et belle.*"

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

Mary Louise Dalton was born at Wentzville, Missouri, April 1, 1869, the daughter of Dr. William R. and Harriet Ursula (Walker) Dalton. She spent her childhood on the farm of her grandmother, Mrs. Mary B. Walker, and attended the public schools of Wentzville. From there she went to Lindenwood College at St. Charles, Mo., where she excelled in scholarship, and from which she was graduated with honor in 1887. As a stenographer she spent several years in a New York law office, and was later with a bank at Middlesboro, Ky. About 1893 she came to St. Louis and took up newspaper work, becoming assistant editor of *The Republic's* Sunday Magazine. After five years in this position, in which she gained distinction for the quality of her work, for her enthusiasm, and unfailing cheerfulness, she was obliged on accouut of ill health to leave the newspaper field. She went to Colorado, to recuperate, and, returning after a few months, took up her residence again at Wentzville. By this time, her health improved, she had acquired an active interest in genealogy and in the history of this region. To carry on her historical investigations to better advantage, she went to Jefferson City as the private secretary of a relative in the Legislature.

She became Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society in 1903, and helped to prepare the Society's extensive exhibit at the World's Fair. In recognition of her labors the Exposition awarded her a gold medal. At the 1905 session of the Legislature she did more than anyone else to secure the passage of the "Flag Bill," prohibiting the commercial desecration of the flag and providing for the annual celebration of "Flag Day" on June 14th. But in her work on behalf of the Historical Society, especially in rescuing for posterity many historical records of this region that lay hidden in odd places or in peril of destruction by careless hands, she rendered a service of immeasurable worth. Hardly less valuable were her historical investigations, some of which may be found reported in these collections. The unselfish assistance that she gave to historical writers all over the country was seldom rewarded by adequate public acknowledgement, but there was compensation for in the knowledge that she had helped to make truthful and accurate the annals of her country.

On June 13, 1907, she died, in the flower of her usefulness, and by her death was lost forever the knowledge of much historical lore that she had not yet had time to put into permanent record. She was perhaps the greatest authority on certain phases of the history of this part of the Mississippi Valley. Her deplorable loss is written in the resolutions of the Missouri Historical Society, the Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Historical Society, the Grand Army post at Sedalia, the Jefferson Chapter, D. A. R. of which she was a founder, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, The Missouri Folk Lore Society, and other organizations, as well as in the hearts of a multitude of friends.

TO MARY LOUISE DALTON.

(June 13-14, 1907.)

The golden glow of sunrise spreads fast across the sky
And drapes Missouri's round-topped knobs in robes of royal dye,
From dew-drenched wood and meadow, from fields of nodding corn
The songsters of the thickets bid welcome to the morn.

But why, one fleeting moment, does the morning breeze turn chill,
Why sobs it in its gladness an instant and is still?
Ah, green fields of Missouri, ah, hill and stream and dell
A soul went out this morning that loved you passing well!

Not for your beauty only, fair sky and fecund earth,
But for the sons you nourished who gave your beauty worth;
Not for your wealth of commerce, not for your cities vast,
But for the deeds of glory that gem your splendid past.

She loved you for the epic of your swift and crowded years,
Like friends she held the legion of your dauntless pioneers.
She knew the restless voyageurs whose ringing axes dress'd
The cradle of St. Louis, proud mistress of the West.

She breathed the Gallic romance of the hamlets, white and still,
That fringed the Mississippi, deep-walled by wood and hill;
She traced the tireless footsteps of the trappers, faring forth
A thousand leagues to westward, a thousand leagues to north.

She saw the white-topped freighters swing down the sunset way
By boundless plain and desert that led to Santa Fe;
She heard the savage war-whoop come shuddering on the gale
To greet the gaunt-limbed settlers along the Boone's Lick trail.

She felt the bitter anguish of the years of blood and hate
When brother fought with brother and the land lay desolate,
And, with a heart more steadfast since it shared the Southron's pain,
She loved the flag that triumphed and made it bloom again.

God's august will commanded that her soul-deserted clay
Be laid among its fathers on that banner's natal day;
A day when, by her labors, it floats on every hand
O'er village, farm and city throughout her native land.

Oh, green fields of Missouri, make soft your ample breast,
Clasp close your stricken daughter and give her tender rest,
For of all the band immortal you have crowned with love and fame
None wrought with more devotion for the lustre of your name.

JOSEPH MILLS HANSON.

From the many letters received by the Society the following extracts are taken:

Hon. Thomas Shackelford, Glasgow, Mo.

"I saw Miss Dalton but once during her charge as Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society. I was struck then with her aptitude in connecting the dead past with the living present." "The loss of such an enthusiastic gatherer of the important events in the early history of Missouri is almost irreparable. It is only the great future that can fully appreciate the work of this noble woman. I wish to bear this, my humble testimony as to the character and worth of one who has done so much to restore from oblivion so much of the early history of this, my native State of Missouri."

Hon. Louis Houck, Cape Girardeau, Mo.

"Can hardly yet realize that Miss Dalton is dead. Not only the Historical Society, but all of us interested in the history of Missouri and its preservation, feel that her loss will be hard to repair. She had a genius for gathering up historical material, a genius for digging up long forgotten historic facts, a genius for intuitively connecting the past with the present, and her whole soul and life were wrapped up in this work."

Professor Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois.

"The announcement of Miss Dalton's death is a terrible shock to me. I never have associated the idea of death with one who seemed so much alive to all that was best. Her loss will be felt by the Historical Society keenly, for her genius fitted her in a unique manner for her work. Her pleasing personality made a visit to the Society's rooms a pleasure which I always looked forward to."

Col. D. C. Allen, Liberty, Mo.

"I regard Miss Dalton's death as a serious—a very serious—loss to historical and genealogical knowledge and investiga-

tion in Missiouri. Besides that, she was an unusual character—refined, courteous, gentle, respectful and generous. When here some months ago in her successful effort to secure the papers of the late Major John Dougherty of this County, she quite delighted all who met her."

Miss Rose E. Young, Louisville.

"The sad tidings of Miss Dalton's death brings me a sense of personal loss, though I was not privileged to know her except through correspondence. On various occasions I have had recourse to her for information about Missouri, and not only did she prove herself ready and helpful, but her letters exhaled a rare charm of personality that was finely satisfying."

Miss Mary Alicia Owen, St. Joseph.

"The State has indeed sustained a loss. Although I never had the satisfaction of meeting Miss Dalton, I had some pleasant correspondence with her, so I feel that I have lost a friend, as well as a sister Missourian, of whom I was proud."

Miss May Simonds, St. Louis Mercantile Library.

"She was uniquely equipped for her work. I have often noticed, as we worked together, how very keen she was in following up the slightest clue. What would have escaped many, or if noticed, have been abandoned as unimportant, she would often make the basis for a new line of research, and pursue it with a success beyond hope. This was true, not only of the avidity with which she would plunge into the printed page even where its dry-as-dust appearance, might without reproach have daunted many; she had also the faculty of reaching in the most unpromising of mortals, the vital spark which would quicken and emit information at her touch. She could overcome indifference, stupidity, suspicion, and always gained her point.

"We made many little trips together through the outlying districts, in search of material—papers said to be in existence

containing valuable information of early days, now lying all but forgotten, whether in the ramshackle farmhouse, where the ancestor of the farmer had held office by authority of the Sacred Majesty of France, or hidden away in the parish records of the old village church, or lying tumbled in a heap in the garret of the old court-house. Her way of enlisting the attention, the confidence, finally the enthusiasm of the people we met in these excursions, was a constant delight to witness."

Mr. Frederick Trevor Hill, New York.

"I am profoundly shocked and grieved to learn of Miss Dalton's death. Although I never had the honor of meeting her, our correspondence concerning the Dred Scott case was so long and our interest in it so keen, that I feel as though I knew her well. She was certainly a woman of unusual attainments, and I considered myself very fortunate to have had her most intelligent cöoperation in the paper appearing in the July issue of *Harper's Magazine.*"

At the second annual meeting of the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, held at Washington University, St. Louis, February 8th, 1908, it was unanimously

"*Resolved,* That this Society is deeply conscious of the loss it has sustained in the death, June 13th, 1907, of Mary Louise Dalton, a Charter Member of the Society, one of its first, most active and most efficient promoters, the first to read a paper before the Society, and its first Treasurer.

"The Society extends its sympathy to the relatives of the departed, to the Missouri Historical Society, of which she was Librarian, and to all the varied historical and scientific activities which feel the loss of her energy, enthusiasm, and helpfulness.

"(Signed) H. M. Belden,
"Secretary."

JOURNAL OF STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY.

EDITED BY VALENTINE MOTT PORTER.

PART I.

THE COUNCIL BLUFF—ST. PETER'S EXPLORATION (1820).

AN INCIDENT OF THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION.

(A narrative of the first overland crossing by white persons between the upper Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, in an effort to open a route for the passage of United States troops between "Camp Missouri," later known as "Fort Atkinson," near the present city of Omaha, and "Camp Cold Water," the predecessor of Fort Snelling, near the present cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.)

EDITORIAL PREFACE.

This journal[1] of the famous soldier, Stephen Watts Kearny, now printed for the first time, has unusual interest in being the only known record or account,[2] it is believed, of an early military exploration that was an incident of the pioneer movement of United States troops into the great trans-Mississippi region. Until 1818 no effort had been made to establish army posts beyond the Mississippi. Following the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, the Americans had re-garrisoned a few minor cantonments evacuated by the Spanish,[3] and had planted a few new posts, but practically

[1] The manuscript is the property of the Missouri Historical Society and was acquired by gift from the late Charles Kearny, Esq., of St. Joseph, Mo.

[2] A search of the records on file in the War Department has resulted in failure to find any mention of this expedition. A bare reference to it is found in Doty's *Journal: Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 215. In the St. Louis *Enquirer*, of July 25, 1820, there is a letter dated Council Bluffs, June 24, 1820, containing this statement: "Captain Magee, with a small command, is about setting out to mark a road from this position to the Falls of St. Anthony."

[3] Although the Louisiana Territory was acquired from the French (1803), it will be remembered that it had been since 1763 in the possession of the Spanish. After the Treaty of St. Ildefonso (1800), which terminated Spain's interest, the French did not resume possession of the posts.

S. W. Kearny Brig. Gen.
Gov. of Calif.a

[By Courtesy of the U. S. Cavalry Association.]

all of these were along the middle and lower river. The War of 1812 coming on soon afterward, and having its theatre east of the river, delayed the time when the military occupation of the new territory should begin, a necessary measure before it could safely be opened up for settlement. In that war what the western people had most to combat was not the British but their allies, the Indian savages, whose depredations had kept the settlements in constant dread, if not in actual danger, and had interfered seriously with the important fur trade, the chief frontier industry. Just as soon as the Americans had recovered sufficiently from the exhaustion of the war to consider the future, they were prompted by the budding spirit of nationalism to adopt a system of measures for their general security. Included in these was the erection of coast fortifications and a chain of military posts on the western frontier, beyond the Mississippi, in the populous Indian region. Thus began, in 1818, the movement of United States troops into that vast territory, where for many years they were to have their most characteristic service, and where by hard experience they were to develop certain methods of warfare that have come finally to exert an appreciable influence on all modern armies.

The military occupation of the north-west was undertaken in two independent expeditions. One had as its destination the head of navigation of the Mississippi, near the mouth of the St. Peter's (now the Minnesota) River. The other was directed to ascend the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone River. They had as their immediate objects the protection of the northwestern frontier against Indian attacks, the extension of the great fur trade, and the checking of the influence of British traders with the Indians.[4]

The troops sent to the upper Mississippi consisted of the greater part (about 414 total strength[5]) of the Fifth United States Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel

[4] See statement of the objects of the expedition, by Sec. of War John C. Calhoun, *Am. State Papers*, "Military Affairs," ii, p. 33.

[5] Q. M. Gen. Rep., *ibid.* p. 36.

Henry Leavenworth. Leaving detachments as garrisons at Prairie du Chien and Fort Armstrong, the major portion of the command ascended the river as far as the mouth of the St. Peter's, a little below the Falls of St. Anthony, and erected barracks on the Mendota side. In the Spring of 1820, the cantonment was so menaced by high water that the soldiers crossed to the opposite shore and chose a new camp-site which they called "Camp Cold Water," on account of a spring that gushed from a neighboring lime-stone rock. As the general location was considered to possess great advantages for the protection of the trade of Americans and the prevention of trade of foreigners, buildings were soon begun for a permanent post.[6]

The troops sent up the Missouri River and known as "The Yellow Stone Expedition," consisted of the Sixth United States Infantry, under command of Colonel Henry Atkinson, and the United States Rifle Regiment (formed from the four rifle regiments in existence prior to the reorganization of the Army), making a total strength of 1126.[7] In 1819 this force had worked its way up the river as far as the "Council Bluff,"[8] on the Nebraska side, and there established a post which was named "Camp Missouri."[9] Secretary of War Calhoun, in a

[6] The permanent post begun by Col. Leavenworth was first named "Fort St. Anthony." Before it was finished his transfer to the 6th Inf. caused his removal to another station. The construction was taken up and completed by Col. Josiah Snelling. The excellence of the work so impressed Gen. Winfield Scott, when he visited the post, that on his recommendation the name was changed in 1824 to "Fort Snelling," by which it is now known. ("Fort Snelling From Its Foundation to the Present Time": Gen. Richard W. Johnson, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 21. See also "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling" (1819–1840), *ibid.*, ii-iii, p. 21.)

[7] Q. M. Gen. Rep., "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 35.

[8] The "Council Bluff," so called by Lewis and Clark, on account of the council of Otoe and Missouri Indians held there with them on Aug. 3, 1804, was a steep bank rising abruptly from the river to a height of about 150 feet. (*Long's Expedition:* James, London Ed., p. 139.) The place is not to be confused with the city of similar name that grew up on the Iowa side.

[9] "Camp Missouri" after 1821 and till its abandonment in 1827 was known as "Fort Atkinson," in honor of Colonel Atkinson. On the old site is now Fort Calhoun, a town in Washington Co., Neb., not far from Omaha. ("Old Fort Atkinson": W. H. Ellers, *Neb. Hist. Soc. Rep.*, iv, p. 18.)

letter[10] to the Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, had this to say about the location:

> "The position at Council Bluffs is a very important one, and the post will consequently be rendered strong, and will be occupied by a sufficient garrison. It is about half way between St. Louis and the Mandan[11] Village, and is at that point on the Missouri which approaches the nearest to the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, with which in the event of hostilities it may coöperate. It is, besides, not more than 180 miles in advance of our settlements on the Missouri and is in the center of the most powerful tribes and the most numerous Indian population west of the Mississippi. It is believed to be the best position on the Missouri to cover our flourishing settlements in that quarter and ought, if it were wholly unconnected with other objects, to be established for that purpose alone."

The feasibility of coöperation between the troops at Council Bluff (Camp Missouri) and at the mouth of the St. Peter's, on the Mississippi, was of course dependent upon a practicable overland route between the two posts, a distance of not over three hundred miles as the crow flies, since the water route, by way of the two great rivers, meant a laborious trip of at least twelve hundred miles. Steamboat[12] transportation

[10] "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 33. See also Pres. Monroe's 2d Annual Message, Nov. 16, 1818, and his 3d An. Message, Dec. 7, 1819.

[11] Mandan Village was the habitation of the Mandan Indians, situated about 60 miles above the present site of Bismarck, N. D., and near the mouth of Knife River.

[12] Gen. Atkinson's troops, comprising the Yellowstone or Missouri River Expedition (being known under both names), had started from St. Louis with five steamboats, the *Jefferson*, *Expedition*, *Johnson*, *Calhoun*, and *Exchange*. There is no record of the last two ever entering the Missouri River. The *Jefferson* gave out and abandoned the trip 30 miles below Franklin, Mo. The *Expedition* and *Johnson* wintered at Cow Island, a little above the mouth of the Kansas, and returned to St. Louis the following spring. Gen. Atkinson invented a paddle wheel device worked by hand that was used thereafter. The failure of the steamboats was a material factor in causing the troops to winter at Council Bluff and abandon the project of ascending further up the river. (Chittenden: "*American Fur Trade*," ii, p. 570.) Long's engineering party, undeterred by the experience of the military expedition, made a trip up the Missouri in their specially built steamboat, the *Western Engineer*. The boat occasionally made as much as three miles an hour, but the machinery broke down so often that it was commonly laid up for repairs. (See *Long's Expedition:* James, Reprinted in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, xiv, 39-199.) Atkinson's troops in 1825 did ascend the river to its headwaters. See *infra*, Ed. Preface.

was then in its infancy and was regarded with suspicion. Hand power, on the western rivers, was thought to be better in the long run, just as in modern days, the first automobiles on account of their frequent breakdowns were thought to be less reliable than horses for long distances.

So important, then, was the opening up of an overland route between the two posts, that the Army authorities made it one of four specific undertakings for the troops in the Missouri and Mississippi expeditions for the year 1820, as we learn from a letter of the Quartermaster General to Secretary Calhoun, appended to a report addressed to the House Committee on Military Affairs.[13]

From the opening statement in Kearny's journal it appears that the task was entrusted to Captain Magee, of the Rifle Regiment, Lieutenant Talcott, of the Engineers, and fifteen soldiers. Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Morgan, of the Rifle Regiment, Captain Kearny, of the Second Infantry, and two junior officers accompanied the party. Four servants, an Indian guide, his wife and papoose, eight mules and seven horses completed the outfit. The journey from post to post took twenty-three days, and during the latter part of it the explorers had but vague notion of their whereabouts. Their arrival at Camp Cold Water, the destination, produced a great sensation in that garrison, inasmuch as they were the first white persons to cross from the Missouri to the Mississippi River at such distance above the confluence.

The route traversed, in Kearny's estimation, was impracticable for any but small parties. The want of timber, the scarcity of water, and the rugged character of the hills made the region almost impassable, and, as he thought, would forever prevent it from supporting more than a thinly scattered population. Yet in a comparatively short stretch of time this very region opened to considerable settlement, and now embraces northern Iowa and southeastern Minnesota.

The members of the party enjoyed a few days' entertain-

[13] "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 32, No. 4. See also letter of Calhoun, *ibid.*, p. 33, and Pres. Monroe's 4th An. Message, Nov. 14, 1820

ment at the post, as guests of Colonel and Mrs. Leavenworth, and made a visit to the Falls of St. Anthony, before they began their return by boat down the Mississippi. Traveling in flat-boats, they made stops at Prairie du Chien, Fort Armstrong, and other interesting points, the account ending with the arrival at St. Louis.

Stephen Watts Kearny, the writer of the journal, was born in 1794, at Newark, N. J., and lived there some years. He was a student at King's College (now Columbia) in New York City. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Thirteenth United States Infantry, and served under Captain John E. Wool. Captured after the Battle of Queenstown, he was soon exchanged. He offered to serve at the head of a marine force in Chauncy's fleet on Lake Erie, but his offer was not accepted. He was made captain, April 1, 1813. After the war he was transferred to the Second Infantry, with headquarters first at Sackett's Harbor, and later at Plattsburg. Probably he accompanied the Sixth Infantry, under Colonel Atkinson, when that regiment went west to form part of the Yellowstone Expedition, for in 1820, when he began this journal, he was at Council Bluff, where a camp had been established by that command in the Spring of that year. In 1821 he went to the Third Infantry, with station at Detroit, but soon afterward transferred to the First Infantry, which had headquarters at Baton Rouge. In 1823 he was brevetted major for ten years' faithful service in one grade. He went with General Atkinson, in 1825, to the headwaters of the Missouri in "The Yellow Stone Expedition"[14] which had been begun and interrupted in 1819. (See *note* 12.) He received his actual majority in May, 1829. He became lieutenant-colonel of the First Dragoons on March 4, 1833, and colonel, July 4, 1836. Soon after the outbreak of the Mexican War he was made brigadier-general, June 30, 1846, and put in charge of the "Army of

[14] The journals of that expedition, by Kearny, Atkinson, and Kennerly, will be published in later numbers of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections.*

the West," which marched to New Mexico, and took possession of that territory. Leaving New Mexico in charge of Colonel Doniphan, of the Missouri Volunteers, he pushed on to California to conduct a campaign there. His gallant and meritorious conduct on the Pacific coast, especially at the Battle of San Pasqual, December 6, 1846, when he was twice wounded, won him a major-generalship. From March to June, 1847, he was Governor of California. Then he went to join the army in Mexico, and became military and civil governor of Vera Cruz, March, 1848, and of the City of Mexico in the following May. He died October 31, 1848,[15] at St. Louis. The funeral was the most imposing ever seen in this city up to that time. The church service was held at St. George's, northwest corner of Locust and Seventh Streets, and the interment was in the Episcopal Cemetery.

THE JOURNAL.

Sunday, July 2d, 1820—at 7 a. m. left Council Bluffs,[16] for the St. Peters,[17] our party consisting of Lieut Col Morgan,[18]

[15] Appleton's *Cyc. Am. Biog.*, iii, p. 496, Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, and statement of his granddaughter, Mrs. Western Bascome, of St. Louis.

[16] The original "Council Bluff," on the Nebraska side, the scene of Lewis and Clark's council with the Indians (see foot-note, 8). The military post there at the time this journal was written was known as "Camp Missouri."

[17] "St. Peters," now the Minnesota, River. The destination of the party was the military post on the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peter's (see foot-note, 6).

[18] Willoughby Morgan, born in Virginia. Captain 12th Infantry, 25 March, 1812; Major, 26 June, 1813; retained 17 May, 1815, as Captain in the Rifle Regiment with brevet of Major from 26 June, 1813; Major, 8 March, 1817; Lt. Colonel, 10 Nov., 1818; transferred to 6th Infantry, 1 June, 1821, to 5th Infantry, 1 Oct., 1821, to 3rd Infantry, 31 Jan., 1829; Colonel, 1st Infantry, 23 April, 1830; brevet Colonel, 10 Nov., 1828, for ten years' faithful service in one grade; died, 4 April, 1832. (See Heitman: *Hist. Reg. & Dic. U. S. Army.*)

myself, Capt. Magee,[19] Lieuts. Pentland[20] & Talcot[21] with 15 soldiers, 4 servants, an Indian Guide, his wife & papoose, with 8 mules & 7 horses—Capt. Magee with the 15 soldiers assisted by Lieut. Talcot of the engineers, compose an exploring party to discover a route, across country, between the 2 Posts.

Reached Lisa's[22] about 9 & sent a boat with our mules & horses, & on her return followed her previous track: viz descended the Missouri to the Bowyer[23] & landed on the eastern side of it, a mile from its mouth; a strong southerly wind rendered it difficult to manage our boat. encamped for the night; until 2 P. M. the day was stormy, when it cleared away cool & pleasant.

July 3d.—

during last night a severe storm of rain Thunder & Light-

[19] Matthew J. Magee, born in Pennsylvania. Captain Pittsburgh Blues, Pennsylvania Volunteers, from Aug., 1812, to Dec., 1813; Captain, 4th U. S. Rifle Regiment, 17 March, 1814; honorably discharged, 15 June, 1815; reinstated, 1 Jan., 1816, as 1st Lieutenant of ordnance with brevet of Captain from 17 March, 1814; Captain, 1 May, 1816, to rank from 10 Feb., 1815; transferred to the Rifle Regiment, 11 Sept., 1818, to 6th Infantry 1 June, 1821, to 5th Infantry, 3 Oct., 1821; died 29 June, 1824.

[20] Charles Pentland, born in Pennsylvania. Ensign, 4th U. S. Rifles, 16 Sept., 1814; 3rd Lieut., 19 Sept., 1814; retained in the Rifle Regiment, 17 May, 1815; 2d Lieut., 9 Oct., 1817; 1st Lieut., 31 July, 1818; Regimental Adjutant, Feb., 1818, to April, 1821; transferred to 6th Infantry, 1 June, 1821; Regimental Adjutant, 1 June, 1821, to 21 July, 1823; Captain, 21 July, 1823; dismissed 15 Feb., 1826.

[21] Andrew Talcott, born in Connecticut and appointed from there Cadet at the Military Academy, 14 March, 1815; brevet 2d Lieut. of Engineers, 24 July, 1818; 2d Lieut., 14 Aug., 1818; 1st Lieut., 1 Oct., 1820; brevet Captain, 1 Oct., 1830, for ten years' faithful service in one grade; Captain, 22 Dec., 1830; resigned 21 Sept., 1836; (died 22 April, 1883.)

[22] Manuel Lisa, one of the most active persons engaged in the fur trade. Born of Spanish parentage in New Orleans, Sept. 8, 1772, he moved in 1799 to St. Louis, engaged in the fur trade and acquired great influence over the Indians of the upper Missouri. He organized the highly successful St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company and built near the present site of Omaha a trading post that became known as "Fort Lisa." He died in St. Louis Aug. 12, 1820. (A special article on *Manuel Lisa* is in preparation for a later number of the *Collections*.)

[23] "Bowyer," now usually spelt "Boyer."

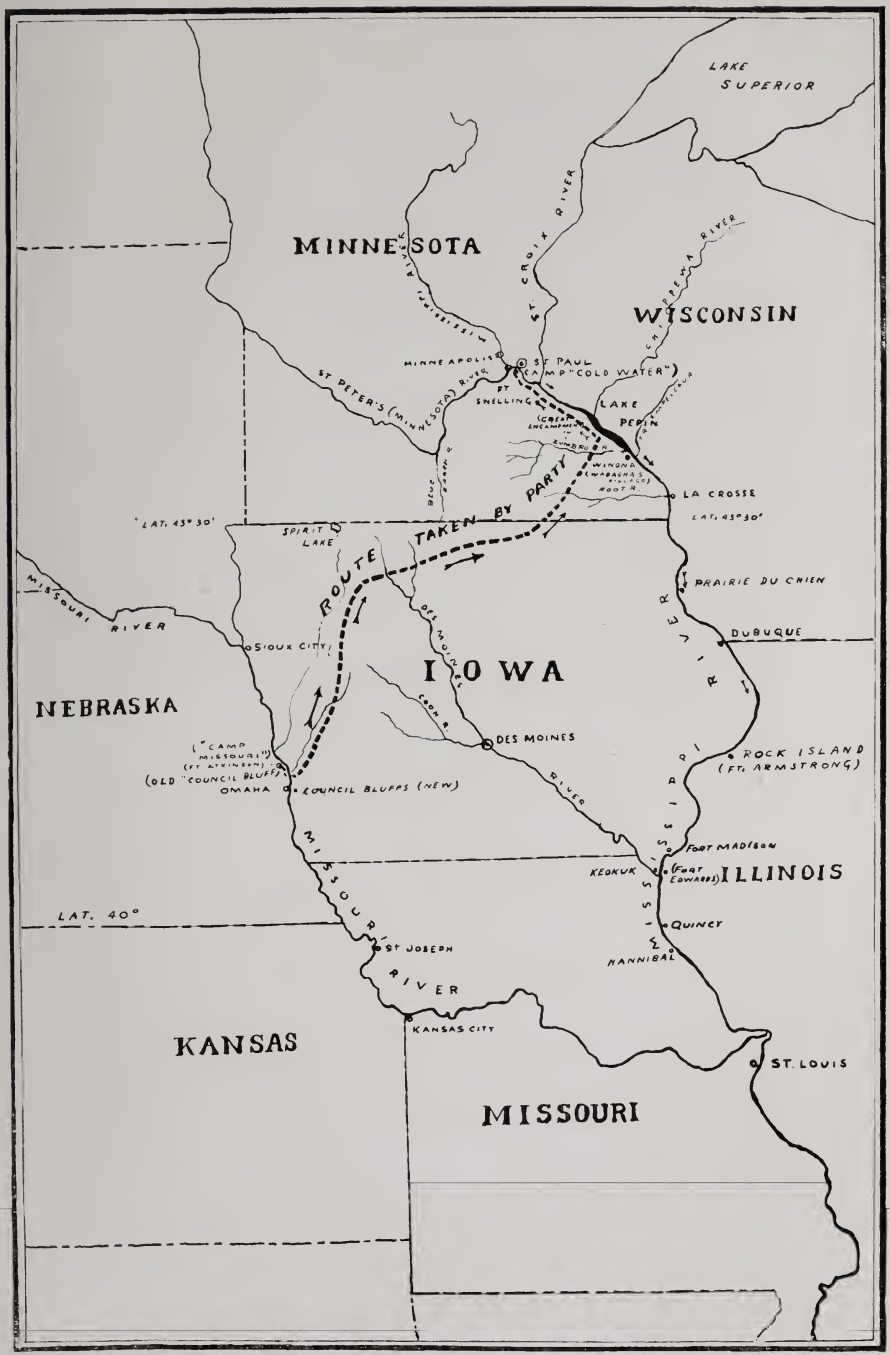
ning, about 8 A.M. it subsided, when we ordered the boat to Camp which had yesterday ferried us to this place & about 10 left our encampment; passed thro' a low bottom, having on our left a high broken bluff & on the left a ravine & beyond that gently swelling hills, well timbered—crossed the ravine at 1 P. M. & halted to feed, one of our party shot a deer; from here ascended a hill & continued on a high dividing ridge, having on both sides high broken hills; no timber—halted, near a ravine. made today as we suppose 15 miles. Our gen'l course has been about north. the wind is from that quarter & the day has been cool and pleasant.

July 4th.

Left our camp shortly after 6 A. M., & traveled over rolling prairies, but indifferently watered, & reached the Bowyer at 1 P.M. a distance of 12 miles—from hence proceeding in a paralel direction to the river, crossed two ravines (with water) & reached a third where we encamped—our course today has been a little *E* of North—made 20 miles. The Bowyer is but thinly clothed with wood, tho' frequently the highlands in the rear are well covered. The day cool & pleasant, & wind North East. This day being the anniversary of our Independence, we celebrated it, to the extent of our means; an extra gill of whiskey was issued to each man, & we made our dinner on pork & biscuit & drank to the memory of our forefathers in a *mint julup.* Lieut. Talcot took an observation & found our camp to be 41° 49¾′—

July 5th.

On awakening this morning, found my blankets as wet as if they had been thrown into the river. I have frequently had occasion to remark the excessive dews that fall in this section of the country. Crossed the ravine, & at 7 A.M., our party was again on its march; followed the river course, a little E. of North and being in the advance of the party, rode to the summit of the Bluff on our right & on a broken & barren spot was attacked by a swarm of small wasps, with yellow wings & very small heads & not being disposed to contest the



Modern Map Showing Route Taken by the Exploring Party (1820) in Crossing from the Missouri to the Mississippi River.

point, for the dominion of that tract, of which they were the previous Inhabitants, I made a rapid retreat, not however until I was severely stung by some of the most enraged.— crossed the Bowyer at 1 P.M. ten miles from last night's camp, & 45 from the mouth; the water here being 3 foot deep— from this the Western shore of the river assumed the character the eastern had in the rear, viz a bottom, extending half a mile from the water & hills gently rising from it; a few miles brought us to a ravine, with a good spring & after crossing it, took a North course, & passed over a continuation of very high, broken hills, with no timber, & but indifferent soil; reached a small creek, where we encamped, with wood enough to make us a fire & supply our other wants; it empties into the Bowyer, about a half mile from us; made today 21 miles; weather cool, clear & pleasant.

July 6th.

Started at 7 A.M.—

Last night we found quite cool, & three blankets, for a covering, were by no means uncomfortable. The mosquitoes, however, were very troublesome & tho' I am benefitted by Lieut. Talcot's *mosquito net*, we had not sufficiently secured it to prevent the entrance of these annoying little insects—

Crossed the creek, which we called Morgan's[24] Creek, & were engaged till 11 A.M. in continually *de- & ascending* high hills, with no indication of timber, or of a single tree, when we halted on a ravine with a little water for our dinner, having previously crossed two others, of a similar character—at 1 P.M., recommenced our march, & after proceeding a few miles, saw from the summit of a high hill some timber, to the West, at however, a very great distance; from this point the hills commence running in a different direction, viz *N. & S* & we find the traveling somewhat easier, as we are enabled to take advantage of the ridges—halted at sunset, near a small drain of water, but without wood, having made 22 miles & over a country, tho' without timber, yet pretty well watered by small drains—

[24] In honor of the senior officer accompanying the expedition.

The dull monotony of traveling over the Prairies is occasionally interrupted by the feats of *Horsemanship* displayed by our squaw, & the affection & gallantry shewn toward her & her Papoose (an infant of but Four months old) by the Indian Guide.

Four of our party went in pursuit of a *gang of elk* which we observed, a mile from our camp, but returned unsuccessful, about 9 P.M.

July 7th.

In consequence of having no timber, & being desirous of procuring some, started at 4 A.M. & continued our course North, for 10 miles, when we halted on a ravine for breakfast. The country is gradually assuming a more level appearance & many elk are seen, to the right & left of us, but at too great a distance to pursue—we have headed the Head waters of the *Soldier river,* which is laid down on the maps incorrectly; inasmuch as it is made to appear a very considerable stream, & having its source near the Racoon branch, of the Des Moines; proceeded on our route; saw many gangs of buck elks, & some of our party fired at them, but at too great distance to kill any; shot a badger, which was given to the Guide, who has been all day very sick, in consequence of living on salt provisions, which he is unaccustomed to—halted at 6 P.M., on a ravine, with no timber, the want of which we begin to feel—made today 21 miles.

July 8th.

During last night we experienced a severe storm of rain, accompanied by Thunder & Lightning, which from our exposed situation, in the open Prairie, we find by no means agreeable.

Started, at 5 A.M. at which time it cleared away & ten miles from camp, left the Party & the route they were pursuing, & rode a mile to the Eastward & saw a mound which had been erected seven years since over the remains of an Indian

chief, of the *Sioux Nation;* this mound is circular, the diameter of which is 12 feet, elevation 6, & having a pole of 12 feet standing in the centre—'Tis on a high hill which overlooks a vast extent of country— About noon, observed a large Bull buffaloe, which a few of us pursued—Having the fleetest horse, I rode in front, & shot three pistol balls into him, not more than at 10 feet distance, two more balls were afterward fired into him, when he fell; we chased him about 2 miles; he is very large, & would weigh a thousand weight. proceded & reached a fine stream, 20 yards wide, which our guide says is the *Leve Grave*, a branch of the Sioux, & so called from a trader of that name having first traded with the Indians on this river; sent back four mules to bring up the buffaloe, which some men have been left to butcher, & having got some timber, determined to remain here, 'til tomorrow, having made 16 miles, & after traveling 59, without the use of wood, and with the exception of a single hill, without sight of any—we welcomed the fire as an old acquaintance & soon banqueted upon a buffaloe feast, the meat of which is far preferable to our common beef—

Near the banks of this river, the country is much broken—high steep hills, with scattered stones, the last of which we have seen little or nothing of during our journey.

N.B. The above Indian was named *Shaton de Tou* (Red Hawk),[25] was a powerful chief of the Sissetons[26] (a band of the Sioux) & was the first that visited the Prophet (about the time of the Declaration of War) on the Wabash, from his tribe & he excited his whole nation to take up arms against the Americans.

We saw today many elk in the Prairie, but were unable to approach near enough to shoot any—

[25] Red Hawk was one of the chiefs in the large party of Sioux, allies of the British, that were with Gen. Proctor and Col. Robert Dickson in 1813 in the attack on Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, which was gallantly defended by Major George Croghan (Grignon's *Recollections*, 3 *Wis. Hist. Collections*, p. 270.)

[26] Sissetons [Sussitongs or Sissitonwans], a band of the Sioux numbering according to Gen. Zebulon Pike about 2160 at the time of his expedition, 1805-7.

July 9th. Sunday—

The squaw this morning quite sick, in consequence of eating too greedily of the Buffaloe.

We were detained until about 4 P.M., in order to jerk our fresh meat, & during which time Lieut. Talcot took an observation, & found our Camp to be in Lat. 42°58′ & we conclude we have underrated the distance we have traveled about 10 miles— When about to start, found the river had risen two or three feet, & therefore we determined to travel round the bend, & not cross it, tho' our distance may probably be lengthened 5 or 6 miles—crossed over some high hills, & reached a handsome stream of water quite deep & ten yards wide, emptying into the *Leve Grave,* over which we felled some trees, on which our baggage was crossed, & having swam our horses and mules, encamped on a narrow point, surrounded by high hills & on the creek, which we called *Mary's Stream*— having made about 4 miles.

July 10th.

During last night, we had some rain, with Thunder & Lightning; the mosquitoes we found so excessively annoying as almost to exhaust all our patience.

Left camp, at 6 A.M., passed over some high hills, well covered with granite and limestone, & the scattered groves of box alder on the Leve Grave give to the scenery a handsome effect—saw a gang of about 200 *she elks,* but they were too much alarmed, at our appearance, to suffer us to approach nearer than 400 yards to them—at this season of the year the males & females run separately, & the former shew, by far, much more curiosity, for they frequently come within 150 yards, to discover what we are; saw some wolves & sand cranes, and crossed two or three of the Sioux trails, none, however, lately traveled; reached a fine sulphur spring, strongly impregnated, & halted for our dinner— The morning very warm & sultry; but a little rain about 11 A. M. cleared the atmosphere when it was cool and pleasant.

At 4 P.M. when about to proceed the wind hauled round from the *S-East* to the *N.West* & it commenced raining, when

we determined to pitch our camp & remain here for the night, having made today 15 miles & in consequence of the Guide's wish not to cross the river, & it holding here nearly a *S.East* course, we were compelled to steer accordingly, about sun down it cleared away, when the most perfect and beautiful rainbow, that I had ever beheld, presented itself to our view.

July 11*th.*

During last night, we experienced a very hard rain, which subsided at day break, & at 8 A.M. we left our encampment, our course *N.East*, & we passed over some level Prairies of considerable extent on the high lands, saw small scattering stones of Limestone, granite & Quartz—discovered a large drove of Buffaloe to our left, probably 5 thousand, but not being in want of provisions; They being 3 or 4 miles out of our course, and the clouds having indicated a storm, we pursued our course, but soon fell upon a drove of about 100, to which several of us gave chase, & out of which a *yearling* was obtained, after a half mile chase;—after being butchered, he was mounted on one of our horses, and with our prize we proceded and overtook the main party, at *Elk Lake*, where we encamped, for the night, having made 17 miles.—

The guide today gave me what he called *Pome De Prairie* (Prairie apple) which he found & which he says the Indians are very fond of—I ate of it; its taste resembling that of a *Buckeye nut;* its shape a Pear, & the color being whitish.

Elk Lake, nearly circular, & the circumference being about 4 miles, is of handsome clear water, & derives its name from the circumstances of a Party of Indians having driven a large gang of Elk, in the winter season, on the ice, when their weight broke it, & they thus fell a sacrifice to their crafty pursuers; its banks are gently sloping and covered with sand & pebbles; & a thin growth of timber, with the reflection of the Sun on the water, & the knowledge of our being so far separated from our friends, & civilized society, irresistibly enforce upon us an impression of gloomy beauty—From this Lake is an outlet which leads to the Leve Grave.

Some of our party killed, on the banks of the river, a Fisher, who, however, did not give up his life without a struggle, nor without shewing much fierceness of disposition.

Saw in the Prairie a Missouri Fox, a beautiful animal, & whose fur is much celebrated for its softness, &c.

By Lieut. Talcot's observation, our camp on Elk Lake is in Lat. 43° 11′ 3″

July 12*th.*

Left camp at 6 A.M., & after holding a *N.East* course for about 10 miles, over Prairies occasionally level, & then rolling, reached the river Des Moines[27] (having headed the Racoon branch of it) over which without much difficulty we found a fording place, & crossed—The river is handsomely covered with timber, & its waters clean & bottom sandy. About ten leagues to the *N.West* of our crossing place is Spirit Lake, at the Head of Sioux river, respecting which the Indians have a curious tradition; viz that the Great Spirit resides in this Lake, & that nothing ever leaves it which once enters it; our Indian Guide informs me that he does not give credit to this story tho' he believes that a monster with horns lives here & the circumstances of a whirlpool being in the center, afford the foundation for his nation's story.

After leaving the Des Moines & traveling 3 miles, reached a Lake, a mile in circumference, where we halted for our dinner; & after obtaining which proceded & traveled over a Prairie, for about 10 miles, a great part of which is low, wet, & marshy, & having made today 23 miles halted on the *Little Blue Earth River,* for the night.

The wind today has been blowing from the *N.West* & cool, raw & blustering.

July 13*th.*

At 7 A.M., crossed the river (water a foot deep) & which our Guide now calls *Point Coupee,* & adds that it empties into the Blue Earth River—ascended high Prairies—Passed

[27] Probably the west fork of the Des Moines.

by many large granite & other stones, halted for our dinner, in an open Prairie near a marsh, from which we obtained some water—When about to proceed, saw a drove of 100 Buffaloe passing from N. to South a half mile in our rear. In the afternoon crossed many of their trails, & continuing our course nearly East, reached at Sun down an old bed of a river, with high banks, about a Quarter or half a mile wide, which with a little difficulty we crossed; the water & mire being occasionally *belly deep*, to our horses and mules; saw another drove of Buffaloe, which some of the party fired at, but without success. Reached at dark a small stream, which the Guide says is the same we slept on last night, when we encamped, having traveled today 22 miles, without seeing the least indication of timber, without finding water, excepting in the marshes, & it being over the high dividing ridge, which separate the Head waters of the streams that flow into the Missouri from those that empty into the Mississippi.

For an hour or two, after our reaching the camp, we found the mosquitoes so troublesome as almost to prevent our doing anything; & But few persons, who have not felt the inconvenience attending a visit from them would willingly assent to a relation of them.

The day was cool & pleasant, wind from the North, & the night quite cold—

July 14*th.*

Started, at 7 A.M. traveled 18 miles over a level & low prairie, saw a prairie wolf, which I believe, from his appearance, to be a very near relation to the animal that was pointed out to me, on the 11th Inst., as a Missouri Fox—Two of the party shot a Buck Elk (4 years old) of about 300 w't. Encamped at a small point of wood near a little pond, with good & cool water. Our course today has been *S. of East*—the Lat of our camp agreeably to observation, is 43° 7′ n.

July 15*th.*

The air, last night, quite cool, & the dew fell very heavy,

& to these causes are we indebted for sweet & refreshing slumbers; inasmuch as the mosquitoes disappear, when the others commence.

Left camp at 7 A.M., steered our course *N.East,* over handsome Prairies tho' of but indifferent soil, our route laying between two extensive groves of timber, which we observed yesterday morning, on our right & left, & as far off as the eye could reach; they have been gradually approximating & we are in hopes at that point of ascertaining where we are, at present being in much doubt, inasmuch as we have trusted entirely to our Guide & his knowledge being rather imperfect—halted on a ravine for dinner. From this point observed at a short distance a Buffaloe cow, with her calf, which two of the party with their rifles went in pursuit of & Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcot & myself followed in the rear, to give chase in case of the failure of the former. They fired when the *cow & calf* started off, & we riders in pursuit. The chase lasted for about a mile, when having fired two or three pistol balls into the Cow & she having received more from the others, we found ourselves in possession of her, & weighing 400 w't. In the afternoon reached the point of junction of the two groves of timber, & passing thro' it reached a small creek at Sundown when we encamped with an extensive Prairie in our front, & Timber stretching from the West to East at a great distance from us.

Made today 18 miles & at the point of encampment found an excellent spring of pure & cold water.

About 100 w't of our jerked Beef being spoiled, we were obliged to leave it for the wolves, but its place was well supplied by the Fresh Buffaloe we obtained immediately afterwards—

We saw & heard many rattlesnakes but they are not an object of much terror to our Indian Guide, in as much as the Prairie contains a plenty of the *Bois Blanc De Prairie* (white wood of the Prairie) & *La Painet*[28] the decoction of whose

[28] Probably meant for *Paigne,* which is given in Baillou's *Dictionnaire* as an American name for *Chimaphila Umbellata,* also known as 'Prince's Pine' and 'Pipsissewa.'

roots are considered a speedy & infalliable cure for the severest sting from them.

July 16*th. Sunday.*

With a fine clear Sunshiny morning left camp, at 7 A. M. crossed the creek, called *Bois Frent* (hard wood) with a Rocky bottom. Took a *North.* course; crossed a fresh trail over which we presume a party of Dozen Indians must have passed yesterday—continued our course over gently rolling Prairies, for the distance of 14 miles when we reached the woods, consisting of oak—

a mile from this point reached a marsh running across our route, which detained us an hour & a half in crossing over our baggage &c.

In the afternoon, pursued our course *N.East* thro' the woods, with thick underbrush, for the distance of 5 miles, & after crossing and recrossing a stream, about 10 yards wide, with gravelly bottom, encamped on a point of woods, with an extensive Prairie to the *East.*—

For a few days past we have been gradually losing all confidence in our Guide as regards his knowledge of this part of the country; he is himself considerably chagrined & mortified at his own ignorance, & his squaw this evening was seen weeping, most piteously, & no doubt thro' fear least, as her *Lord & Master* has failed in his pledge of conducting us in a direct route to our point of destination, we should *play Indian* with him, viz. sacrifice him on the altar of his ignorance; A Tin of soup from our mess to the squaw quieted her apprehension & some kind words satisfied the Indians & they once more retired to their rest, apparently in good humor & spirits.

Made today 19 miles & our camp, by observation, is in Lat. 43° 29′ N.

July 17*th.*

Started about 7 A.M., passed over a Prairie of much low & marshy ground, for the distance of 8 miles, when we reached another grove of timber, with scattering oak & no underbrush, which we passed thro', for 5 miles, & halted for dinner, after

which, parting with our Guide, he to endeavor to ascertain our situation, we proceded & passed over a Prairie of 5 miles, & crossing a ravine, halted on its banks & pitched our camp. at this time it commenced raining very hard, & continued for two hours when the Indian rejoined us, but still appearing ignorant of the surrounding country.

Made today 18 miles, our course *N.East.*

July 18*th.*

Morning cloudy, & drizzling—started about 7 A.M.; course East; one mile brought us to a river, 20 yards wide, knee deep, with stony bottom, and running from N to *South* with a current of a mile & a half an hour, & the handsomest stream of water we have seen, since we left the Bowyer; we do not know what to call it; our Guide thinks it the St. Peters.[29]

Continued our course over some handsome Prairies, well surrounded with timber, & which would admit of very beautiful farms—crossed a ravine & halted at noon, when Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcot & myself, with the Guide, rode about six miles, to the South, to ascertain if the river we crossed this morning bended to the Easterly, that we might satisfy ourselves, whether or no, it is the St. Peters. Returned to the party of a contrary opinion, when we again proceded, & holding a *N.East* course, thro' handsome groves of timber, reached another ravine having made 14 miles & encamped for the night.

Four of the party went out in pursuit of game, but returned unsuccessful.

July 19*th.*

Our provisions being nearly exhausted, & the uncertainty of the relative situation between ourselves & the St. Peters, leaving it doubtful when we shall reach the Post, at its mouth, we rose early & at 5 A.M. took up our line of march.

The cause of our uncertainty, existing among us, arises from the differences of the *Lat.* of the mouth of St. Peters, as laid

[29] Probably it was the Red Cedar River. They could not have been within 75 miles of the St. Peter's at this time.

down on the maps, & as made by Maj. Long, Topo. Engineer, we giving credit, to the latter, but our Indian insisting, that we have crossed the St. Peters & the maps, seem, to strengthen, his opinion.[30]

The morning quite cool & cloudy, & being determined to pursue a *N.E.* course 'til we strike the St. Peters, or Mississippi from either of which we shall be able to ascertain our situation, we steered accordingly—crossed the ravine & passed over a gently rolling Prairie for the distance of 10 miles, which brought us to a point of timber on another ravine, & which here turns at right angles & runs to the East; continued our course, which brought us to a small drain of water, on the steep banks of which we found regular strata of sand stone, & extending for some distance—crossed over more prairies, & thro' woodland & halted after dark without wood, or water, & tho' supperless, & shelterless, we were all soon lost in quiet repose: we made today about 31 miles.

July 20th.

During last night we had a little rain, started at 4 A.M., crossed over some very high hills, well covered with wood, & much underbrush, making the traveling exceedingly difficult, & after 2 miles halted on the banks of a handsome stream,

[30] They were of course mistaken in their conjecture that they had crossed the St. Peter's. As a matter of fact they never saw that river until they reached their destination at its junction with the Mississippi. In the London edition (1823) of James's *Long's Expedition*, there is a map, which is reproduced by Thwaites in his *Early Western Travels*, xiv, p. 30, that shows an overland route from Council Bluff to the St. Peter's, designated as "Lt. Talcott's route in 1820." If this purported to be the route taken by our party, as seems likely from the date and the fact that Talcott was the engineer officer with it, the map is in that respect inaccurate, for it indicates that the party reached the St. Peter's, at its southernmost bend, and followed down to its mouth. As will be seen from further reading of the journal the party first reached the Mississippi at Lake Pepin, and thence ascended that river to the mouth of the St. Peter's. There is a possibility that the route shown may have been a later one taken by Talcott, for in 1820 Lewis Cass wrote Calhoun recommending Talcott as a suitable person to conduct an expedition *up the St. Peter's*, a recommendation naturally following upon, though not necessarily implying an acquaintance with, the region resulting from an earlier expedition, that is to say, this one.—Ed.

(which we had crossed,) 12 yards wide, sandy bottom, & 2 or 3 feet deep, for the purpose of cooking & eating. we here took a farewell meal on the last of our pork & bread; a little parched corn is still reserved; proceded, at 8 A.M., ascended a high hill & struck on a very broken country— Two miles to the right of our course, discerned a high promontory, & accompanied by Lieut. T. we rode to it; on ascending which, we found ourselves about 70 feet higher than the surrounding country& with the assistance of our spyglass, were enabled to see a very great distance in every direction; & tho' beautiful & interesting objects were presented to us, we were not able to gain any satisfactory information relative to our situation; rejoined the party & continuing our course, descended a very steep declivity, & following a ravine for a short distance reached a river[31] 30 yards wide 5 feet deep, with a stony bottom & which many of the party believe to be the St. Peters; halted on its banks & remained 'til sundown, when we crossed over to the *N.* side, & encamped for the night, having made 11 miles. The river is well bordered by oak, pine, white ash, & slippery elm, & in its vicinity we discovered sand & limestone- During the afternoon some of the men were employed in fishing, but without success. The Indian shot 3 geese, which were distributed to the party— Lieut. T. here lost an eye glass belonging to his Telescope, whose place was supplied with a microscope, & at night, taking an observation, found our camp to be 44° 18′ N. Lat.

July 21*st.*

In consequence of a little fog on the water, or some other cause equally as unimportant, we remained 'til 8 A.M., during which time we took our breakfast on our portion of the geese, & leaving the river, ascended a high & broken hill & then passing thro' a thick cluster of timber, with much underbrush, for a mile, descended another hill & found ourselves in a beautiful valley 250 yards wide, & bordered by high & broken ridges, following which, about two miles, ascended the

[31] Probably the Zumbro River.

left ridge, & having with much difficulty & exertion passed over many high, broken & precipitous hills, halted, at noon, to rest, tho' without water; proceded at 2 P.M. & reached a small drain of water, & having lately suffered much inconvenience from the want of it, we here filled our canteens & kegs—saw two deer, neither of which were we able to shoot. this is the only game we have seen for several days, except the geese which were shot & many Prairie hens, but being armed only with rifles, & these hens not to be discovered in the grass, & only seen when flying, we are not able to shoot them—about 4 P.M. when every one of the party was much fatigued with traveling, & almost exhausted by a scorching sun & empty stomachs, with much anxiety of mind respecting our situation, we discovered from a high ridge the Mississippi river, & freshening up, we with light hearts & quick steps soon reached its water, at which point we observed a boat on the opposite shore & after hailing, for a considerable time, a canoe, with 3 Sioux Indians, with much precaution approached us. From these we learn the river we left this morning to be the Pine,[32] that we are now at Lake Pepin, & that the Boat opposite has plenty of provisions; some of the party took the Indians' canoe, & paddled to them obtained pork, bread, & whiskey.

This supply, so perfectly unexpected, saved us the trouble of butchering one of our mules, which we had determined on & which we should have done this evening, a selection having been made, & our appetites perfectly prepared. Made to-day 14 miles. About 10 P.M., twelve Indians, the remainder of the party to which the others belong, came over, & after presenting each with some tobacco, they lay down and slept in our camp.

[32] Now known as the Zumbro.

(*To be continued.*)

NORTH
MISSOURI
RIVER
SPANISH LAKE
RIVER
Chain Rocks
MISSISSIPPI
Moline Creek
North St Louis

Map I.

SURFACE DEPOSITS ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI BETWEEN THE MISSOURI AND THE OHIO.

(A paper read at a meeting of the Society, 12 December, 1905.)

By Gerard Fowke.

Through the generous assistance of Dr. C. A. Peterson, then President of the Missouri Historical Society, and Dr. W. F. Parks, an associate member, who furnished the necessary funds for carrying on the work, it was possible for me in the autumn of 1905, to make some examination of the surface deposits in St. Louis county and thence southward to the vicinity of Cairo.

Glacial Deposits.

Dr. Parks discovered, about a mile northwest from the pumping station at Chain of Rocks, a steep bank formed by undercutting of a little stream known as Watkins Run. At the foot of this bank (at the point B, Map I) is a deposit of till or ground moraine—a bed of very dense, tough, blue and brownish clay, containing several varieties of foreign rock in pebbles and cobbles of various sizes. Above this is a mass of glacial debris ranging from sand to boulders a foot or more through. The whole is capped with loess. At two other places on Watkins Run (near C, Map I) till appears near the bed of the stream; if any of it lies farther up the hillsides it is buried from sight under the loess or soil.

About two miles above Chain of Rocks, (at A, Map I) a small stream comes in from the westward. Along the lower part of this, is a deposit similar to the above but more marked in character and traceable over a larger area. The clay is typical till, blue in some parts, brown and yellowish in others where oxidation has resulted from the influence of percolating water and the access of air. Overlying it is a mass of glacial material whose greatest exposure, vertically, is about fifteen feet; to that height, at least, it resembles

ordinary moraine drift. There are many large, slightly worn pieces of limestone and sandstone, no doubt the same referred to by Leverett when he says (U. S. Geol. Survey Reports, Monograph 38, "The Illinois Glacial Lobe," pages 35 and 64), "It is somewhat uncertain whether the drift found on the Missouri side of the Mississippi is of direct glacial deposition or a deposit made by streams; the greater part of it is assorted material." "The rock constituents appear to be different from those of the drift in Madison county, Illinois, there being present considerable material apparently brought down from the exposures of the sandstone and limestone * * in Calhoun county, Illinois, and Lincoln county, Missouri." But Leverett was probably not aware of the till, as until very recently it has not been visible at either point mentioned. Besides, local material is constantly present in glacial drift. Along this streamlet—which appears to have no name—no drift is apparent on either slope for a greater distance than 20 to 25 feet above the foot; but the owner of the field on top of the ridge to the southward says he has several times struck with the plow boulders of granite and other foreign rock, one of which was of such size that the united effort of six men was required to remove it to the edge of the field whence it was rolled into the ravine.

It would seem certain from these facts that a spur of the Illinois glacier projected to the hills about Chain of Rocks, temporarily blocking the outlet of the lower Missouri river.[1]

Had the boulders just mentioned as being found on top of the ridge been carried there by floating ice, others should be found at the same level in the immediate vicinity; but none have been reported, and numerous inquiries failed to elicit information of their occurrence.

But this barrier to the lower Missouri river was inconsider-

[1] During its greatest extension the ice-sheet crossed the Missouri river in Saline county and completely obliterated the stream above that point. The lower portion was kept open by the Osage, Gasconade, and smaller streams. The loess deposits belong to the closing stages of the glacial epoch, when the ice-front was on or near the continental watershed between northward and southward-flowing streams.

able in height and of short duration. There is no indication of such a channel as would necessarily result if floods having the magnitude of those which poured off the ice sheet, had torn their way across the divide between the two rivers. A short distance below the reservoirs of the City waterworks, near the top of the hill is a bed of foreign sand, gravel, and pebbles, whose position and character can be best explained by referring it to the outwash from the glacier front. While plainly due to running water, the amount and direction of slope, where this can be traced, renders it improbable that the deposit is due to currents of a stream, no matter of what size, directed and controlled by the bluffs which limit the spread of the Mississippi. A deposit of loess rests unconformably upon and against the steep face of this glacial detritus; another evidence of its early and independent origin.

Ancient Channels.

A possible outlet for the flood water was sought first by way of the ravines opening to the northward from the hill behind Chain of Rocks; but these head on the table-land within a short distance. The depression occupied by Spanish Lake was next examined; but between it and the cement mill the summit cut of the Burlington railway is through bed-rock and there is no evidence on either side of it of ancient banks or shore lines. Spanish Lake itself occupies a low, broad valley which seems once to have had a constantly widening open way to the Missouri; whether the lake is due to an immense sinkhole, or to a dam of glacial or loess material somewhere in the vicinity of its outlet, remains to be worked out.

The only remaining locality where there seemed a chance that this part of the Missouri river may have temporarily taken a new course across St. Louis county, is the Meramec valley. Between Pacific and Labaddie stations on the Missouri Pacific railway, is a low, wide depression with the highest point, near Gray's Summit, only about 200 feet higher than the Missouri. At first view, this valley forcibly impresses one as an old waterway, the broad stretch of rolling or

nearly level fields, bounded on each side by rugged hills, having a remarkable resemblance to abandoned water courses in glaciated or mountainous regions where streams were diverted by ice-dams or by warping of the surface under stress of movements which resulted in the formation of mountain ranges. But a cursory, and perhaps entirely insufficient, examination failed to show any glacial material, any shore line, or any trace of a channel; and the absence of such evidence precludes the supposition that the Missouri had any part in its formation. So much being settled, the alternative hypothesis is that we have here a former passageway of the Meramec to the Missouri. Near Gray's Summit an uplift of the strata brings sandstone near to the surface across this old valley; and this, if the Meramec ever held such a course, would suffice to pond up the stream until it found another outlet over a lower ridge toward the east. This suggestion, however, is not to be considered a statement of fact, but merely as a surmise or possibility, worthy of further investigation. The true explanation may be simply that the approximately parallel sandstone ridges to the north and south, bounding this valley, were better calculated to resist weathering than were the strata of limestone and sandstone lying between them, and so are left at their present elevation by the more rapid dissolution of the intervening rock.

Altogether, it seems probable that the extension of the ice sheet across the mouth of the Missouri was sufficient to carry it only to the top of the bordering bluff; that it had not the requisite height, or thickness, to raise the water much above the lowest hilltops; and that it was cut or melted away before the relatively small amount of water that escaped around its margin had time to make, on the high lands, any marks which could last until the present time.

Lafayette Formation.

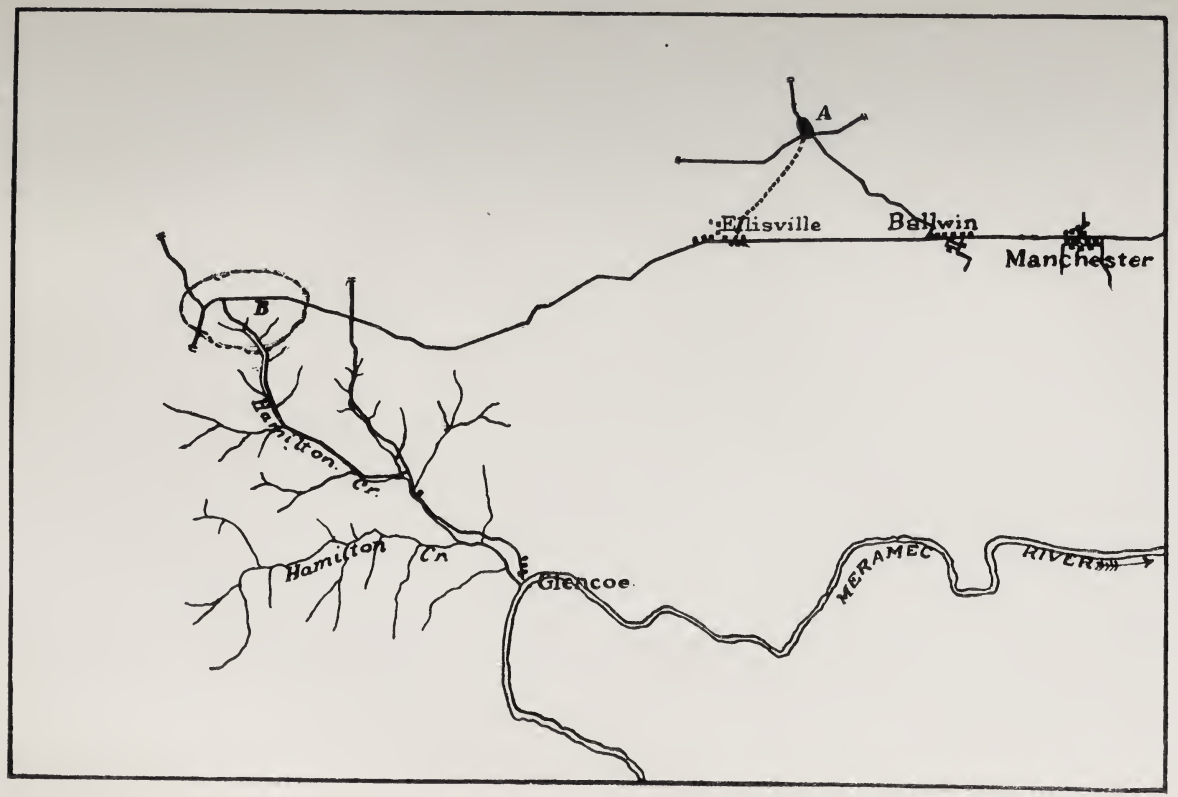
Brodhead records the occurrence of gravel, which he thought might be of glacial origin, at the head of Hamilton creek, which falls into the Meramec at Glencoe. The creek has its

beginning about five miles to the north, its ultimate branches reaching the top of the ridge at the old Manchester, or State, road. Excellent vertical sections can be seen at various points in the vicinity of B, Map II, where the gravel has been stripped in order to reach the clay beneath, upon which it rests irregularly and unconformably. The material is almost entirely quartz and quartzite in various forms, with some cherts and jaspers; but careful search over hundreds of square yards failed to show a single pebble of the nature composing the great bulk of the drift. It is all water-worn and closely packed. At first, below the hill-top, there seems no room for doubt that we have here an old lake shore; but on ascending to the summit of the hill and finding exactly the same material exposed in road cuttings, ravines, and on hillsides; and learning that it is found in nearly every cellar, cistern, or other excavation beneath four to eight feet of soil or loess; that at this average depth it caps the plateau for nearly eight miles with a maximum breadth of about two miles;—it is plain that no lake could have had such a shore line. Nor is there any source near at hand whence such material could be derived. For the latter reason, too, the Meramec is excluded as a possible carrier in past geologic times; if the gravel had been brought from the Ozarks, it would be found all along the way. Finally, when it is ascertained that the highest land in St. Louis county, a knoll about a mile and a half north-east of Ellisville (A, Map II), is composed entirely of identical material, the conclusion is inevitable that it dates back to a period when this region was emerging from the ocean.

Dr. WJ McGee has since identified it as belonging to the Lafayette formation, and consequently much older than glacial deposits.

Loess.

It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with any question concerning the origin of loess or the methods of its distribution, further than may be necessary in recording observed facts.


NORTH
A
Ellisville
Ballwin
Manchester
B
Hamilton Cr.
Hamilton Cr
Glencoe
MERAMEC
RIVER

Map II.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of this deposit, in St. Louis county, is its practical uniformity over considerable areas of quite diverse topography. Naturally, it has become thinner on hilltops and heavier in flats at the foot of slopes; but aside from this, over much of the county it forms a mantle from 12 to 14 feet thick. The knoll of gravel near Ellisville rises above it, but 2½ miles west from this, it covers the plateau at an elevation of nearly 750 feet above tide, or about 350 feet above the level of the Mississippi under Eads Bridge. There is a heavy coating on the bluff at Creve Cœur; but it does not cover any of the hills about Crescent or Eureka higher than the lowest ridges. Dr. Peterson makes the suggestion, which fits the case exactly, that the floods of comparatively clear water poured out from the Meramec checked or held back the silt-laden torrents of the Missouri, thus causing a progressive diminution of precipitation toward the south from the farthest line along which the tributary was able to make its influence felt. All this means a depth of water that would cover the hills to the level of about 350 feet; and that the whole volume drained off so rapidly in the end as to uncover all the territory within a comparatively short time.

The loess is still an unsolved problem. The name was at first restricted to the material making up the Missouri river bluffs; indeed, it was called the Bluff formation by early geologists. Its origin was sought in the Bad Lands toward the source of that river. Later, the term was applied to deposits along other streams and even to level lands at a considerable distance from any stream; and finally we now find it extended to include superficial deposits along uplands bordering the middle Ohio and the lower Mississippi, which would appear to resemble Missouri river bluffs solely in the respect that they are adjacent to large streams. The only possible factor they can have in common is their derivation from glacial floods.

However, it is not within the province of this article, which is entirely local, to discuss these matters.

The loess in St. Louis county is of the same nature and due to the same causes, as that farther up the Missouri. Whatever theory will explain the existence of the latter will equally account for the former. The question at issue is, How could such deposits reach the elevation at which they are found? The ice-dam at the junction of the two rivers was, as we have seen, entirely inadequate because it was not high enough to raise the water to the required level, neither was it of sufficient duration to hold it long at any level. Besides, no matter how it may have raised the Missouri, it could not have affected the Mississippi; and consequently would have no influence on the loess formations below St. Louis.

Geologists, in general, have agreed that there was a sinking of the earth's surface, relative to sea-level, over much of the United States during the glacial period, and that this subsidence was somewhat more pronounced toward the north than toward the south. Thus, the gradient of southward flowing streams would be decreased, their current more sluggish, and during floods the water would spread more widely. Wright states (Records of the Past, Jany., 1905, "Physical Conditions in North America during Man's Early Occupancy," page 15), "for a considerable period during the closing stages of the Glacial Epoch, while the loess was being deposited, the lower Missouri was subject to an annual rise of water, in the month of August, amounting to 200 feet." He finds in this fact (which he demonstrates) an explanation (same, pages 21 and 24) of the presence of "Canadian boulders, some of them weighing several tons, occurring on low gravel terraces in the trough of the Osage river, near Tuscumbia, 65 miles above the mouth of the Osage river, and 40 miles south of the farthest actual extension of the glacier." "Back water from the Missouri River would set up the Osage valley * * until it reached the height of the flood in the Missouri. It would therefore be a most natural result that small ice-floes or icebergs bearing Canadian boulders, which were floating down the Missouri, should be carried by back water a long distance up the Osage. * * As the elevation of the

terrace * * in which these boulders are found, is only about 150 feet above the Missouri, it is easy to see that they could have readily been brought there in this manner."

Professor Wright might have added that if only a few inches of an iceberg projected above the surface of still water, a strong, steady wind could move it forty miles in a very short time.

But the loess is found at a much greater elevation than 200 feet above the Missouri at many points in St. Louis county, particularly near Ellisville where, as above stated, it is nearly twice that height. Clearly, the Missouri torrents were, in some manner, debarred from a free discharge at the level indicated by Professor Wright; and as the obstruction was neither land nor ice, it could only have been water. At this period, the Mississippi also received an immense volume of water from the melting ice sheet; and, furthermore, was reinforced by the Illinois, similarly swollen. Opposite Montezuma, sixty miles north of Grafton, the Illinois bottom-land, three miles in width, is bordered by bluffs fully 100 feet high which are strikingly like those above Kansas City in their conical summits, sharp ridges, and steep, barren slopes. It is quite probable that the combined discharge of these two streams fully equaled that of the Missouri. In other words, the Mississippi at Alton attained a flood height of about 200 feet above its normal, holding back the Missouri's water to the same height. If, while the Mississippi was at this stage, the great annual freshet calculated by Wright had come down the Missouri it would have piled up on this back water in the same manner as on a sand bar or other solid obstacle. Thus, for a time, the water of each stream would rise to a higher level than could be possible to either if its own flood water were the only factor. When all these waters united in a channel not much wider in places than one of the contributing streams, it follows either that the current must be greatly accelerated or that the water must rise at their junction to a level greater than that which would be normal. Leverett records (page 71) that "between St. Louis and Cairo only sand and silt are found along the valley, a feature that apparently indicates

a drainage no more vigorous than at the present day. Yet it seems probable that at times the volume of water greatly exceeded that now discharged through the valley." We have presented a reason for the latter condition; but not, as yet, for the first.

With the increased volume of water, loess would accumulate on hills much above the ordinary flood line, though not to any such height as 350 feet above present water level. It must not be forgotten in considering this point that the land was lower than now, and also that water must have attained to practically the same level south of the divide between the Missouri and the Meramec as north of it; otherwise the current in this direction would have carried away not only most of the suspended silt but all superficial native earth as well; while, unless the gradient was small, all light material would have been swept far to the southward.

Phenomena Below St. Louis.

So it was necessary to look farther down the river in seeking the cause of the moderate flow thus made manifest. References bearing upon the matter are scarce. Worthen says (Geological Survey of Illinois, vol. 3, pages 50, 75, and 76) that in Jackson county "The Loess * * occupies only a narrow belt on the top of the river bluffs from the west line of the county to the vicinity of the Pine hills near the south line." "On the east side of Fountain Bluff [Loess] extends down to the level of the river bottoms, and probably once filled the valley between this and the main chain of bluffs." In Union county, "The Loess formation was recognized at a single locality only, on the road from Jonesboro to Willard's landing, where the road intersects a ridge of this material on the eastern side of the Mississippi bottom, and the cut through it exposes 20 to 30 feet of [Loess]. And it is worthy of remark, that in this region no deposits of this kind cap the highest hills, as at more northern localities, but they occupy the valleys, showing that the hills in this part of the State were already elevated far above the water level at the time the Loess beds were deposited."

Shumard [Missouri Geological Survey Report; volume containing results of work from 1855 to 1871] says in his report upon Perry county:—"It is also highly probable that the eruptive rocks exist at or near the surface, since we have found, a short distance from Wittenberg, a loose mass of granite that would weigh several tons, while the paleozoic rocks in this vicinity present evidences of very considerable disturbances."

Before examining the last mentioned localities, two other points were visited.

Rock Creek.

The valley of Rock creek, at Kimmswick, three miles below the mouth of the Meramec, is filled with water-borne material to a height of fully 100 feet above the present flood line. A mile from the mouth a granite boulder weighing about 400 pounds was immediately under the surface in a deposit of intrusive sand, gravel, and smaller boulders, the whole having been carried to their present place by an iceberg or floe which either stranded here or was so reduced in size by gradual melting as to be unable longer to sustain its burden. Other, smaller rocks of foreign derivation occur in this valley, but they are sparsely scattered in loess material which is more or less mixed with clays and sands of local origin.

Plattin Creek.

At Crystal City, fifteen miles below Kimmswick, loess does not appear on the hillsides south of Plattin creek; but knolls and terraces of 20 to 30 feet in height, in the valley, are remnants left by erosion of a former deposit whose height could not have been much greater. At Festus, a mile from Crystal City, there is an exposure of six to eight feet, on solid limestone, in the railway cut; while on the hill north of the station it extends to a height of about 80 feet, none showing at a higher level than the line separating the sandstone from the limestone which caps the hill.

NORTH.
BIG LAKE
LITTLE LAKE
FORMER
MISSISSIPPI
BIG
MUDDY
RIVER
MISSISSIPPI
RIVER
FOUNTAIN BLUFF
Bareau Creek
WITTENBERG
BAKE OVEN
GRAND TOWER ROCK
GRAND TOWER
GRAND TOWER

Map III.

Region About Grand Tower.

The terminal moraine of the glacier closely borders the bluffs along the north side of the Big Muddy in Jackson county, Illinois. Taking into consideration all the factors noted above, there seemed a possibility that a spur or projection of the glacier may have pushed its way down that stream and across the Mississippi, blocking the latter for a time, checking the current about Fountain Bluff, and turning it finally into the narrow rock-channel which it now follows at Grand Tower.

But almost at a glance, it is obvious that nothing of the sort ever happened. The boulder at Wittenberg (see Map III) lies on the bank of Brazeau creek, not more than a hundred yards above the railway bridge near its mouth. It is submerged at every ordinary flood of the river, and may be a very recent accession, for it could have floated in on a cake of ice thick enough to carry it, at any time prior to the construction of the wagon bridge just below it. Not a pebble of other material than the native limestone, sandstone, and chert, could be found in the ravine or in its branches, and numerous inquiries of residents failed to bring information of any other foreign rocks in the neighborhood.

A mile and a half north of Wittenberg, along the south side of the road to Seventy-six, two or three ravines show exposures of loess at an elevation of about sixty feet above the bottom land; and about half that distance west of the village the road to Altenberg crosses a ridge of it not more than 100 feet high, perhaps less. Loess eight or ten feet thick caps the point of a ridge terminating in a railway cut just above Dryden's run. It also shows in a ravine south of the Altenberg road. Considerable search and inquiry failed to reveal it elsewhere in this vicinity.

Two miles below Wittenberg is the remarkable formation known as Grand Tower. Strata are contorted and tilted in the most confusing manner, rocks of different geological ages which are normally hundreds or even thousands of feet

apart, vertically, being on the same level within a few hundred yards. The dip may be at any angle between zero and ninety degrees in different parts of the disturbed area; and its direction may change within a rod. One columnar mass, in particular, which stands out in the river like a gigantic pile of masonry, gives the locality its specific name. Three somewhat similar products of erosion, two of them shown on Map III, arise from the alluvial bottom on the Missouri side; but being covered and surrounded with timber are much less conspicuous. When the river is at a low stage the water about the "Tower" is from 80 to 120 feet deep, except on the landward side which is connected with the shore by a narrow reef. Opposite here, fronting the river on the Illinois side, are three segregated hills, mainly of limestone, separated from one another by narrow spaces filled with alluvial deposits. The most northern, and smallest, known as "Devil's Bake Oven," and the one nearest and next in size, called "Devil's Backbone," are free of loess. The third, largest and farthest south, lying behind the town of Grand Tower, is entirely covered with it. The top of the hill, comprising about 100 acres, varies in height above the bottom from 100 to 125 feet, except where three large sink holes reduce these figures. At the northern end, where the earth has been stripped for a quarry, the superficial deposit is about 20 feet thick; its bottom has not been reached at any other point, though there is a well 14 feet deep somewhat below the top of the slope leading to one of the sink holes. Rock crops out at one place on the east face, and along most of the west face, of the hill, but nowhere near the top. Excavations to a depth of 30 feet at the southwest angle of the hill show half that depth of loess at the upper part of the trench, the bottom being hidden by talus.

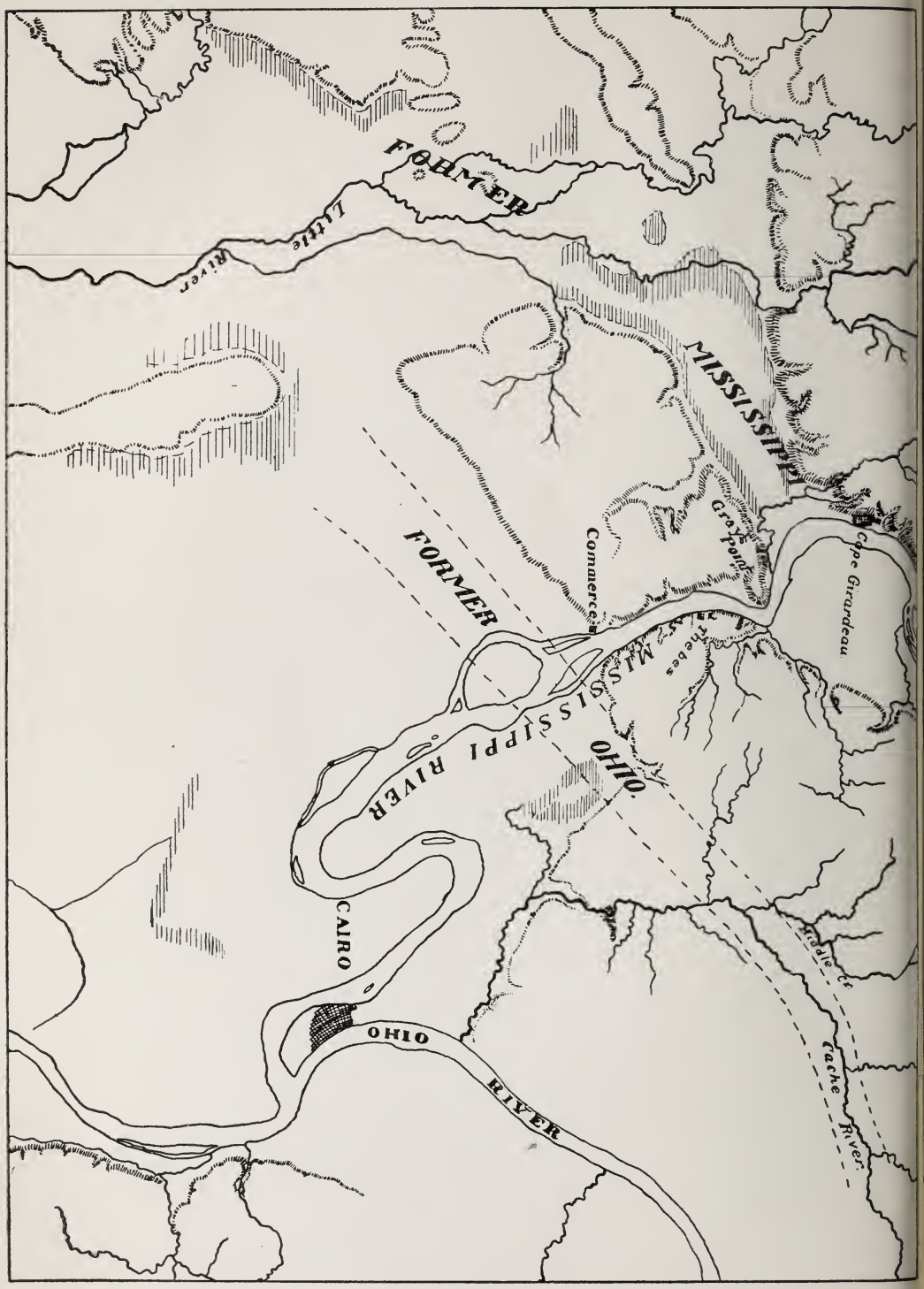
The hill known as Fountain Bluff is an isolated mass of Carboniferous sandstone about 300 feet high, three miles in length and half that in breadth. From the north and west sides the top is mostly inaccessible. Since early geological times it has been an island, being separated from Devil's Bake Oven south of it by a channel a mile wide, and from

the main bluffs to the eastward by a space fully 2½ miles wide at the narrowest part. Worthen gives the latter measurement as five miles; but calculating by a right angle to the trend of the cliffs at the upper end, he took a diagonal instead of a direct line. Until a period geologically recent, both these channels were occupied by the Mississippi and are similar in all respects to other alluvial bottom lands along the river.

The natural inference from Worthen's report, above quoted, would be that loess extends along the entire eastern slope of Fountain Bluff. There is none on the south, west, or north sides, nor on the northern part of the east side; it begins to show about midway on the last side, in a narrow strip not over ten or twelve feet high along the foot of the hill, until at a ravine which combines several branches. Along these there is loess, some of it in level terraces, to a height of thirty feet. At the southeast part of the hill, several fields, perhaps 100 acres in extent, are covered with it to an elevation of about sixty feet. There may have been more along the east side at one time; the fields near the foot of the slope are more fertile than those more remote, possibly on account of wash from the hillsides, which are very steep and show ledges of sandstone to the top.

No glacial debris, unless a stray floater here and there, is to be found on any of these elevations.

Where Big Muddy emerges from the hills into the lowlands bordering their base, its valley does not measure more than a mile in width between the tops of its slopes, nor more than a fourth of that distance between bedrock at the level of the stream. If any foreign rock or soil was ever carried out by ice, it is now entirely covered; for there is no drift in ravines or on slopes, while native rock in place or detached shows abundantly, There is a loess deposit 12 to 15 feet thick at the railway cut east of Kinkaid creek. On the northern side of Big Muddy the surface in some places looks like loess, in other places like native soil; but on the higher land, back from the bluffs, the superficial deposits are plainly of local origin. The lower knobs are smoothed and rounded, and have the appearance of eroded glacial or loess material;


FORMER
Little
River
MISSISSIPPI
Grave Point
Cape Girardeau
Commerce
FORMER
Thebes
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
OHIO.
CAIRO
OHIO
RIVER
Cache River

Map IV.

but knolls exactly like them on the southern side of the stream, in both cases facing the Mississippi, have small angular fragments of soft sandstone scattered at intervals on slopes and summits, which could not be the case if the material composing the knolls had been transported hither by water.

All these data effectually destroy the hypothesis that a solid dam of any sort, whether glacier extension or the massing of ice floes could ever have existed here. The causes that led to the heavy loess deposits and the present river channel at Grand Tower had to be sought yet farther to the southward.

In The Vicinity of Thebes.

The Mississippi at Thebes (see Map IV) flows in a narrow gorge, between rock walls, over a rock bottom known as the Grand Chain.[1] This is sufficient proof that an obstruction of some kind compelled the river to abandon its former bed and break through this cleft. But if additional evidence were needed as to the existence of such a barrier, it can be found at Cape Girardeau, where conditions prevail similar to those at Kimmswick and Crystal City. High hills whose summits are entirely devoid of extraneous rock or soil, extend in a great amphitheatre surrounding lower hills in a former estuary. On all this inner space loess is abundant. The greatest thickness exposed is about 25 feet in a street cutting. The highest elevation in or near the city is Reservoir Hill, whose summit is almost exactly 170 feet above the flood line. This is covered with loess, the bottom of which was not reached in leveling for the basin. But there is even less reason here than at Grand Tower for attributing this increased depth to a temporary lake formed by any sort of ice barrier. Nigger Wool swamp begins just below the town and extends to New Madrid or farther. The western border of bluffs is unbroken from Cape Girardeau to Crowley's Ridge in Arkansas. The eastern border is marked by a line of bluffs beginning above Gray's Point and ending near Oran—a distance of about 15 miles. This swamp, nowhere less than three miles wide,

[1] Under the railway bridge the channel has a depth of about 75 feet.

was formerly the bed of the Mississippi, which even now during freshets pours through it a great volume of water that at flood height overtops the railway embankment. The river's present course past Thebes cuts off these eastern bluffs from their natural connection with the table land of Illinois, making in effect an island whose greatest breadth is 8 or 10 miles. There are fine exposures of loess north of Elmo along the Frisco railway, and near the bluffs on the wagon road leading to Cape Girardeau. The highest point at which it occurs is at least 100 feet above the swamp. No examination of the country below Commerce was needed, because from that place the level bottoms subject to overflow continually widen, and the question of a solid dam is settled in the negative.

But certain facts remained to be accounted for. The height of the loess at Cape Girardeau means, when erosion is considered, that the river contained at least 200 feet more water than now; though, as in all the loess covered region, there is as yet no means of determining what fraction of this may be due to excessive floods, and what to a subsidence of the land surface in general. While the deposits are such as can be carried by sluggish water, there was sufficient current from Fountain Bluff southward to prevent accumulation of silt on points exposed to its force; all the thicker and more extensive deposits are behind hills which deflected the main flow in such a way as to form eddies or dead water behind them. This is especially noticeable at Cape Girardeau and about Grand Tower.

The Gorges at Grand Tower and Thebes.

Coincident with these deposits and resulting from the same primary causes, was the creation of new channels at Grand Tower and Thebes. Prior to the glacial epoch, land stood at a higher level than now, and streams had cut their way to a greater depth. The Mississippi then skirted the Illinois hills to the east of Fountain Bluff (Map III) with a minor channel on the west circling around the southern end of that hill to join the main stream, leaving all the limestone hills at Grand Tower on the Missouri side. The upper portion of this old

channel is now occupied, in part, by two lakes or sloughs; the lower portion is drained by the last few miles of Big Muddy. Similarly, above Thebes (Map IV) the river flowed southwestward through Nigger Wool swamp. At each place small ravines due to aerial erosion had worn toward one another until the ridges separating them were lower than the general level in the direction of the river; perhaps down nearly to their present relative grade. Then came the land subsidence, and with it floods from melting glaciers, bringing immense quantities of detritus and sedimentary matter which settled wherever the velocity of the current was diminished. Thus the old valleys were partially filled; and the rivers are now flowing high above their former levels in troughs on top of these old deposits which are for the most part concealed by sand and mud piled on them by modern freshets. But it so happened that the ravines at Grand Tower and Thebes had cut their floors to a lower stage than that attained by sediments in the main channel; so much lower that when normal conditions were restored and the Mississippi began to flow once more "unvexed to the sea," it was diverted into these side passages and has ever since remained there.

Changes near Cairo.

But the original channel could not have filled to this extent unless the velocity of the stream was decidedly checked. To produce such result a barrier was necessary. It is plain that no solid dam, of either land or ice existed. As at St. Louis, the case is reduced to the hypothesis of a water dam. An arm from the Gulf of Mexico once projected far up the valley, probably to Cairo or above; but there is no evidence whatever that sea water could have risen high enough to bring the river on top of Reservoir Hill at Cape Girardeau. Consequently, the Ohio river must meet the requirements. Leverett has discovered (page 528) that "The Ohio at one time discharged either wholly or in part through the 'Cache Valley,' which crosses southern Illinois a few miles north of the present course of the Ohio." The "clay deposit stands only about

75 feet above the present stream. [It] has sufficient depth to extend to river level, and it may extend much lower." Worthen (Vol. I, 1866, page 7) says the axis of the uplift forming the Grand Chain near Thebes "probably crosses the Ohio a few miles above Caledonia in Pulaski county, where the St. Louis limestone forms a reef of rock known as the 'Grand Chain' (of the Ohio) entirely across that stream." The "Little Chain" in the Ohio, he adds, is in a different formation.

Evidently we have here a situation similar to that at Thebes. The old course of the Ohio through "Cache Valley," indicated approximately by the dotted lines, being choked up, it broke over the "Grand Chain of the Ohio" presumably into the lower part of the Tennessee which probably discharged directly into the Mississippi, though it is not positively known as yet just where the various preglacial channels of the three rivers were; whether they united before reaching the northward extension of the Gulf, or whether they flowed into it separately at this time.

The Ohio is subject to great fluctuations even now; and at the time under consideration, when it received all the glacial discharge between the Alleghany mountains and the Wabash, in addition to floods from its southern tributaries swollen by rainfall greater than any we know of now, its volume was augmented far beyond modern record. When such torrents flowed over a bottom 75 feet above the river's present level, they would hold back the Mississippi for many miles; and a flood coming down the latter stream would rise far higher than if there were a free outlet below. Conversely, the Mississippi would retard the Ohio, causing the latter to fill up its "Cache Valley" channel and break over the Grand Chain of the Ohio.

Conclusions.

To sum up:—The concurrence of a subsidence of the land, as agreed to by all geologists; the existence at the north of a vast glacial field rapidly melting; torrential, tropical rains farther south due to the intermingling of warm air from the Gulf with cold air from the ice sheet; the synchronous discharge

of tremendous floods into a limited area, by many great rivers; —this combination will sufficiently explain all the phenomena of deposition and erosion between the mouth of the Illinois and the mouth of the Ohio. Theories or hypotheses that seek other causes as chief can have, at best, but a slender foundation.

The relation, or correlation, of the upper Missouri bluffs, the extensive bottom lands of the lower Ohio and Wabash, the rock bluffs of the Mississippi and the Illinois, and the overflow lands from Cairo to the Gulf, awaits a satisfactory explanation.

Years ago, Professor W. G. Tight, now President of the University of New Mexico, expressed the belief that in a former geological period the drainage of the Mississippi basin was mostly toward Hudson Bay. No other hypothesis yet advanced offers as satisfactory an explanation of various peculiarities in our central river systems.

Addendum.

It was not until the above paper was in print that I discovered the following article, written by H. A. Wheeler, E.M., and published in the Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis, February 21st, 1895. A few sentences of Mr. Wheeler's article are omitted, but nothing that has a direct bearing on the subject.

"In driving a tunnel under West Pine street, in the western-central part of St. Louis, for a sewer, the blue glacial clay or 'till' was found for a distance of about 2,000 feet. A shaft at the junction of Taylor avenue and Pine street, which was about the middle of the till formation, disclosed a thickness of about 12 feet. The blue-clay carried gravel and boulders as usual, and though none of the latter exceeded a foot in diameter, they were largely made up of distant-carried material, or crystaline rocks from the North like granite, mica-shist, white-quartzite, besides white saccharoidal sandstone, chert and limestone. It rested on the St. Louis Limestone (subcarboniferous), and was overlaid by 10 to 15 feet of the non-pebble bearing loess, or the unstratified, columnar jointed

brown, homogeneous sandy-clay formation (the 'brickclay'). The till feathered out on the west side of Euclid avenue, and was not again encountered in the westerly extension of the sewer.

"From the limited width of the till, as the sewer-section was on about an east and west line, and the comparative thinness, not exceeding 12 feet, it seems to be a local tongue or extension of an ice-stream beyond the main body of the southern limit of the great ice-sheet. The nearest recognized development of the till is at the Chain of Rocks region, or ten to fifteen miles north, where heavy sheets of mixed gray and brown clays and sands, carrying pebbles and boulders of foreign rocks, occur in the tongue of land between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. In this region the till attains a thickness of over thirty feet, and contains, as erratics, red pegmatite, granitite, red and gray granite, diorite, dolorite, quartz porphyry (like the Keweenaw Point series), porphyrite, red quartzite, quartz geodes (Keokuk), white 'sugary' sandstone (Saccharoidal), besides abundant cherts from the immediate neighborhood. But no blue-clay has been observed there, and the Pine street sheet is the only occurrence of blue till known to the writer in Missouri that is south of the Missouri river, which lies 12 miles north.

"A thin layer of gravel bearing loess (?) is usually found at the base of the true loess throughout St. Louis county, as far as ten to fifteen miles south of Pine street, and while most of the pebbles are local cherts, they occasionally include distant material like granites, etc. This gravel-bearing bed is always thin, ranging from ½ to 2 feet in thickness and is similar in character to the transition bed that is found about the Chain of Rocks region between the typical loess and the typical drift, or has the general character of the loess plus more or less gravel, though usually only a little gravel is present. It totally lacks the character of the true till, and cannot be regarded as an ice-sheet deposit. This Pine street occurrence of till is therefore the most southern known extension of the ice-sheet in St. Louis county."

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 20 October, 1905.)

Continued from Vol. 2. No. 7.

Act One. Scene Two.

Jas. Anderson's engagement at the St. Louis Theatre shared the same fate as that of Brooke's, whereupon he likewise shifted his scene of action to the People's, where for some five or six weeks he played the English classics and the high grade of the standard dramas, and Schiller's "Robbers," to filled houses. He was an actor of great merit in heroic parts, and his "Coriolanus" was a masterpiece, to the success of which his tall and commanding stature, aristocratic features and musical voice contributed to a large extent. His wife, Miss Elseworthy, slightly smaller, of perfect figure, large, dark and penetrating eyes, expressive and dignified features, and a gait that revealed stateliness and grace at every step, was a fitting partner to constitute this noble and heroic pair. A comical incident occurred to this pair on their arrival at the Planters' House, where they registered for the same apartments as James Anderson and Miss Elseworthy. The clerk stoutly objected to their rooming together until Anderson had given sufficient proof that he was the husband of the lady. The custom of married actresses retaining their maiden names does not appear to have been quite as prevalent then as now.

The warm summer of the year 1856 having set in, and all the theatres closed for the vacation, some of the actors of the People's Theatre formed a male company to play at the old Museum above the Market House, which had been closed since its occupation by our amateur society. Most of the actors having left town, there was a lack of talent, which was

supplied by the amateurs, and from among them I was engaged as "Juvenile Man." To give dignity to my new position among these professionals, my name was changed to Fairfield. While we were rehearsing the stage and the auditorium were undergoing radical changes in regard to scenery and dressing apartments. A new drop curtain representing the London Bridge was being painted by John Hillicker, who had just arrived from England, and the dilapidated scenery and decorations put in such order as to result in quite a nice little theatre. The establishment was opened under the title of "The Bowery Theatre," with "Othello." Among the company were Tom Lyne, Wolffe, Reed and others, and these actors, being ambitious to play good parts, nothing but the heaviest plays of Shakespeare and Knowles were produced. Night and day I was employed in study, having two parts in this performance, a farce being added to the tragedy every night. On the first night, as *Cassio* in "Othello," I made the audience roar with laughter by over-acting the drunken scene; I was equally successful the next night as *Alonso* in the "Death of Rolla," in producing hilarity in the parting scene before the battle, when, with broken and tearful accents, I emplored the Peruvian warrior that if I fell in battle to be the wife of *Cora* and the father of my children. I soon discovered that playing new parts every night was too much for my young experience, but finding myself improved at every repetition, I determined to hold on. However, business after two weeks began to fail, and a few weeks more sufficed to close the establishment. Stage Manager Wolffe, who was a fair actor and a first-class diamond setter, went south to work at his trade. Lyne, the leading man, turned preacher, which evidently was the profession for which nature intended him.

No sooner had the doors closed upon this venture than another lessee presented himself in the person of a printer and publisher of a Mormon paper, with a Mr. Dickman for his business manager. An actor family by the name of Caldwell, consisting of the father, who played old men, the mother, who figured as the old woman, the son as the walking

gent, the daughter as the soubrette and leading lady, Dave Morris as a German dialect comedian, myself as juvenile, and a few ladies for general utility, formed quite a respectable company, for the Caldwells were good actors. The chief attraction was Miss Caldwell, who, besides being a fair actress, possessed an excellent voice for singing work, and moreover was what might be termed a fair type of Creole beauty, who, with her dark, large eyes and raven black ringlets reaching almost down to her waist, made a most interesting stage appearance. The plays produced consisted of the lighter English singing pieces, farces and one-act comediettas. The interludes between the pieces were supplied by D. Morris, with German songs and speeches on the topics of the day, which never failed to elicit roars of laughter. The business was paying, salaries regularly forthcoming, and everybody satisfied. This lasted three weeks, when the Caldwell family, having procured engagements, left for the South. This broke up the company, which I regretted very much, as it had been the most agreeable affair I had been connected with.

Upon the wreck of this venture another was immediately organized. The broken ranks were filled up with amateurs from the different associations, and an opening advertised for the following week. In spite of the liberal terms on which we had obtained the hall, printing, etc., after three weeks' struggle this speculation also failed. Our manager, a foppish young fellow with considerable money, paid the salaries, and when he settled for the rent with the manager of the house, a gruff old Irishman, some dispute arising between them, and the young manager, thinking himself insulted by some of the old man's remarks, shouted: "It seems you take us for hod-carriers." The old man answered: "No, I don't, but that's what you ought to be, or butchers, for people do be telling me that to the mate shop below I joined a slaughter house above."

My next venture was with the "Hauser Family," a quartette of Tyrolean singers, who, after having performed all over the world, had made St. Louis their home. These had built a very neat stage with efficient and well-painted scenery,

in a large hall at the corner of Third and Convent streets. Two performances a week were to be given in German. This company consisted of the family, numbering two men, two women and myself as salaried members, and a few amateurs who worked gratis. The Tyrolese were excellent singers, and as all the plays were of Tyrolean characters, they were no less good actors, and the affair became popular and paid well. However, I longed to be connected with the regular theatre, and before long, through the recommendation of Mark Smith and other actors, I received a note from James McVicker, manager of Wood's Theatre, formerly the People's, to come and see him in regard to an engagement, whereupon at once I bade farewell to the Tyrolese and to my amateur career forever.

On the 24th of December, 1856, I made my first appearance as a professional actor at Wood's Theatre, in the part of *Morluc* in "Love's Sacrifice," and that in one of the best companies of the time, numbering in its ranks such names as Lawrence Barrett, who was then doing the young men, Chas. Barry, J. L. Griffith, J. Collier, Uhl, Grover, Blake and McVicker. The height of my ambition up to that point had been reached—I belonged to the craft.

Manager McVicker, who, like myself, had been a printer, showed his predilection for his former trade, to which he seemed to attribute a somewhat higher standard of intelligence than to others, on my applying for an engagement, said: "Well, as you are a printer, I think you may do, and as you are recommended by actors who have seen you perform, I'll make a trial of you." He gave me my part, told me how to dress, dismissed me, and I went on my way rejoicing, the happiest fellow in town on that day.

My part, though small, was difficult, but I got through it without hitch or break. After the play I was summoned to the manager's dressing room. He expressed his satisfaction and said that he could not see what would prevent my becoming a good actor, provided I did not fail to exercise attention and diligence, and here he held up his finger and, giving me a serious look, he continued: "Provided you resist the tempta-

tion of drink and gambling, which are playing such sad havoc with many of our good actors." Also, he added: "Be careful in choosing your companions. There are always in the theatre, as elsewhere in the world, men who are not fit companions for a young man; therefore, choose with care and discretion." During our conversation several of the minor actors passed the open door and gave a hasty look within. "Now," said he, "there goes a pair that have been in the business some years. They are efficient in their place, but, if they should grow as old as badgers, they'll never be more than what they are now, utility men." After giving me several other admonitions, he concluded by saying: "You are as useful to me as any man I have in your position, and I will give you the same salary as the rest, eight dollars per week." When I left the room, the two gents who had peeped through the door were waiting for me, and immediately demanded what McVicker had said to me, the amount of my salary, etc. I referred them to Mr. McVicker himself, who, undoubtedly, could give them the best information. James McVicker was a citizen of St. Louis, a character actor and comedian of a high order, an intellectual stage director, and one of the best theatrical business managers this country has seen, as has been fully proved by his lifelong and honorable career in Chicago. He had risen from the ranks, and step by step had gone through all the gradations of the theatrical profession, from the lowest round to the position he occupied at his death. At the time I became acquainted with him he was chiefly known as a Yankee comedian, but he soon became reputed to be a first-class interpreter of Shakespearian comic characters, and his *Touchstone, Dogberry, Launcelot* and the finer order of character parts, as the "lawyer" in "The Man of the World," and others of that type, placed him in the rank of sterling actors of the English drama. In manner and character plain and unobtrusive, he was at the same time strict and kind in business, and you could depend on his word. It was most fortunate for me at that time to begin my vocation under such an accomplished tutor, and also that I commenced my career at a time when that which is known

as "the old palmy days," the period up to which the English classic drama had been fostered and developed since Shakespeare's time, had possessed the greatest exponents of its beauties and handed down from generation to generation, during four hundred years, the traditions, improvements and triumphs of genius—that this period had reached its culmination, its highest flight. The flower was still in full bloom, but signs of decadence were visible, and proclaimed that in a short time, slowly though surely, it would wither. Junius Brutus Booth had passed away; Wm. Macready, though still living, had bidden farewell to his glorious sphere of action; but there yet remained a host which still represented every phase of the spirit of that epoch. Still we had Forrest, Murdoch, Anderson, the elder and the younger Wallack, Scott, Chas. Kean, Ed. Davenport, Jamison, Dillon, Eddy, not to speak of those who were in England and never visited this country. Besides, there were in this country numbers of those who were preparing their wings to join the aforesaid Olympians in their last flight, viz.: Ed. Adams, John McCullough, Lawrence Barrett, John Wilkes Booth and his brother Edwin, destined to be the last of the Romans. Among the comedians, we still retained Burton, Blake, Chas. Mathews, Clark, Warren, John Owens, Ben DeBar, Geo. Holland, McVicker, etc. The actresses formed an equal galaxy of glory, and we dwell with pleasure on the names of Charlotte Cushman, Elisa Logan, Mary Farren, Jane Davenport, Mrs. Bowers, Julia Dean, Matilda Heron, Jane Coomb, Julia Bennett, Laura Keene, Charlotte Crampton, with many others who had begun to give proof of excellence.

With these superior models, the stock companies stood in close relation and favorable comparison, since from them the great ones had issued by gradual and steady promotion to the limit of their capacities, and it was in these companies that the neophyte found models for the various characters he was called upon to represent, added to which the daily change of programme afforded a field of practice which the system of to-day does not offer. Every day during the first weeks of my engagement I was called to the theatre an hour

before the regular rehearsal, to be instructed by James Thorpe, the prompter, in broadsword exercise, to dance or to sing the music incidental to the English melodramas that were then in vogue. Benjamin Vogel, who later became the well-known and efficient leader of the Olympic Theatre orchestra and director of our park concerts, had come in 1856 from Pittsburgh to join the orchestra at Wood's Theatre as second violinist. It was under his excellent tuition that the music of "Meg Merriles," "Rob Roy," "Bohemian Girl" and the most difficult music of "Macbeth" was vamped into a score of youngsters of both sexes, not one of whom, I think, knew a note of music. Besides these exercises, and playing two or three small parts every evening and the daily long rehearsals, I took lessons in Hardee's tactics, so as to be able to handle a gun gracefully. And when at home, walked with a sword girt to my side. Added to these physical exercises, I also read up much English history and historical novels to make up for my too-early interrupted education, and, in short, strove to make all this bear upon my profession. My manager's warning against the abuse of drink I fully appreciated, having seen too many examples of its ruinous effect while in my former trade, nor was there a lack of these in my present vocation, in which it seemed that to the average actor drink was as free to him that craved it as the air. I had seen a popular comedian who, intoxicated, had fallen asleep in a wheelbarrow, drawn to the theatre in that vehicle, the leading man shoving it and four more drunken actors drawing the same by a long rope, followed by a shouting mob of boys, and that while a pelting hailstorm beat down on this staggering cavalcade. In gambling there was no danger for me, as I never had a taste save for outdoor sports.

To me the most notable man in our company was Lawrence Barrett, who played the juvenile roles, and who for his excellent acting, as well as for his staid, sober and dignified character, commanded the respect if not the affections and popularity of his colleagues. He was thought to be proud, for though polite and friendly to all, he seemed to shun any intimate contact with the others. He appeared to be con-

tinually on the defense against what he considered, and justly, too, the abuses and vices which beset an actor's life, and no doubt this continual apprehension and guard against dangers, in his later life, developed that cold, repellant and exacting harshness of temper which never left him. He was wont to come to rehearsal alone, walking to the stage with the step of a drill-sergeant, a large book, no doubt procured from the library, under his arm, for he was a great reader, and bowing to the right and left to those present, went on with his work, and at the conclusion strode home in the same manner; but with all this, his reputation was that of a just and intellectual gentleman, and to those who strove earnestly and manfully in their vocation, I have always found him kind and obliging. He was always himself, and his strong individuality asserted itself in his parts as well, which, though of the highest finish, were always a transfiguration of his own personality, and of the highest flights of rhetoric. Truly he was one of those who, for his noble and elevated striving, his clear and straight life, deserves a remembrance in the heart of all those who look upon the dramatic art as something nobler than mere amusement or a pander to the sensualities of the ignorant.

This season was noteworthy for the engagement of several great and celebrated actors, viz.: Wm. Burton, the elder Wallack, Edwin Booth's first star engagement, Jas. Anderson, the Keller troupe, and the production of a drama entitled "The Pirates of the Mississippi," written by a gentleman of this city, in which my career came nigh being cut short. It was in this production that I for the first time acted a decided villain's part. In a scene while standing on the cabin roof of a pirate barge, commanding a fight between the crew and the shoremen, I was shot in the neck by a drunken actor, who had fired at me within a distance of only some ten feet, the hard, wet paper bullet striking my neck immediately next to the jugular vein. I fell, and as I felt the warm blood flowing down my breast, I was strangely reminded of the only Latin I ever knew: "*Sic transit gloria.*" I bled considerably, but Dr. Collins, the manager, came immediately,

stopped the bleeding and plastered the wound, saying: "Young fellow, if that had struck you a little bit further to the front, you would never have played another pirate."

Wm. Burton played a repertoire of his best comedies, among which was that of "Toodles," a part in which he was reputed to be without equal. This was also one of DeBar's favorite roles, and a rather bitter rivalry was raised between the two comedians. DeBar played the part nightly for a week previous to Burton's arrival, so as to give everybody a chance for comparison by the time the pretended superior should appear. Burton came, and with the disadvantage of playing it before an audience which had seen DeBar in it so frequently that many of them knew the play by heart, of course it fell flat with the New Yorker. No doubt, DeBar's was the best, for, even when this comedian failed to realize an author's idea, he always had one of his own, and it never failed to be funny, and that, too, without any effort. Burton's *Captain Cuttle*, in "Dombey & Son," however, was a masterpiece, and I doubt if his rival on Pine Street could have reached him in that. The elder Wallack, an actor of great excellence in tragedy and higher comedy, did a fair business playing "Hamlet" in fine style, "Richard III," the old English comedy of "The Wonder," and other classic productions. His deportment and manner of directing was quiet, courteous and kind—a scholar and a gentleman.

The engagement of Jas. Anderson, during which was presented "Civilization" and "Clouds and Sunshine," proved as great a financial success as that of the previous season.

The most noteworthy occurrence of this season, however, was the first appearance in this city of young Edwin Booth, who, after having played a few seasons in the California theatres with considerable success, had now entered on his first starring tour. It was with some surprise when, at the first rehearsal, we beheld a slender, melancholy-visaged lad advancing to the prompt table, where, after shaking hands with Manager McVicker, he was introduced to the company as Mr. Edwin Booth. His sad, though friendly, smile, low, musical voice and dignified manner won upon everybody

while at the same time his appearance, which rather denoted weakness than strength, inspired but little hope in his success as a tragedian, and if anyone then had prognosticated his great and glorious career of the future, he certainly would have been laughed at. His opening role, I think, was that of *Brutus* in John Howard Payne's tragedy of that name, a most difficult character in which the tragic emotional is carried to a depth which is rarely found in other plays. The attendance was good, no doubt owing in part to the curiosity of seeing the son of the celebrated Junius Brutus Booth, who had died recently. The public was not disappointed, for although the son lacked the intense vigor of the father, he so well husbanded the powers he possessed in melody of speech, graceful repose, and the judicious rendering of the more violent and explosive phases of the role by quiet emotional struggles, that revealed themselves in lightning flashes on a countenance possessed of rare powers of tragic expression. This was most vividly exemplified in the scene where he condemns his son to death for treason. The very qualities that were considered his weaknesses were to serve him in the future for success, and make of him the originator of that more quiet and reposeful manner which has pervaded the American stage since his advent, in contradistinction to the robust methods which the numerous imitators of Forrest had inaugurated and, in many instances, degraded into mere rant. Therefore, his performances at first were not what is termed popular, for to the unenlightened he lacked force, and force with such is masculinity. During this engagement "Richard III," "Hamlet" and "The Marble Heart" were produced, and his *Raphael*, in the last-mentioned play, was one of the most beautiful performances I have ever witnessed. After a two weeks' engagement he left for the East, not to return to this city for some eight or nine years.

Another incident of note was the arrival of the Keller troupe, world renowned for their representation in living pictures of the legends of Greek mythology and scenes from the Old Testament. Louis Keller, a German sculptor, and his wife and her two sisters were the leading features of

this company, and it would be difficult to conceive four more beautiful models for the characters they represented. Two other women and two men, Spaniards, also possessed of rare physical beauty, figured as the immediate support of the former, with five more to fill the subordinate roles, and an English stage manager to direct the plays. Added to these, quite a number of children and youths of the city were engaged to pose as angels, nymphs, satyrs, etc., and who were rehearsed in their work a week before the arrival of the company. A carload of classic costumes, statues and six huge wooden horses to draw Apollo's sun chariot, figures of lions, tigers and dragons, the snake crowns of the furies, masks of gorgons and satyrs, large serpents and other mythological pharaphernalia filled the stage on their arrival. A large circular revolving platform was constructed in the center of the stage on which the pictures were to be represented. The first night the house was filled from pit to dome, and the exhibition proved a decided success. The living pictures that were fitly introduced as visions, dreams and allegories in the dramas of "The Famine in Egypt," "The Prodigal Son" and "Joseph in Egypt" were the most instructive and brilliant that had been seen until then, or since. The house was sold out every day, and the professors and students, as well as the general public from the surrounding country, came to see this novel and educational exhibition. Whoever has seen Mrs. Keller, with her tall, Junonian figure, standing between her two beautiful sisters, slightly smaller than herself, posing as the three Graces, will never forget that sight nor fail to feel the truth of those lines of the German poet when he sang:

"The body of woman a poem is, which the Lord our God has written."

Louis Keller, when seen in the street with his long hair and beard, stooped shoulders, and clad in a gaberdine-like fur-trimmed paletot, might have been taken for the boss of a junk shop and not for the artist which he certainly was. However, that carelessness of appearance and absence of parade outside of the theatre seems to have been a general characteristic of the men of note of that period. But when Louis

Keller appeared as Apollo upon Parnassus, in his sun-chariot drawn by his white steeds and accompanied by the hours that were hovering in the air around him, you felt at once that there was an artist before your gaze, and the correctness and beauty of the representation made you think for a moment that Olympus had descended unto the earth once more. The troupe remained with us three weeks, perhaps longer, and every night proved a new banquet of beauty, for during that period the following most notable features in which Keller took part were "The Death of Socrates," "Battle of the Amazons," "Jeremiah's Lament," "Orestes Tormented by the Furies" and "Cain and Abel," in which, as far as I am aware, the first and only time in this city God was represented by an actor on the stage. Cain was Keller's masterpiece. After the murder of Abel, Adam Grover, who played old man, clad in white drapery, with flowing hair and beard, and surrounded by angels bearing lit tapers, would appear in the clouds and ask: "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?" Upon which Keller answered in pantomime. How much else of the scriptural text was spoken I cannot tell at this late day, but I do remember that Grover was subjected to many coarse jests for the extraordinary line of business he had taken upon himself. However, as far as I know, no objections were raised to this novel innovation, a fact that may be attributed to the earnest manner and absolute absence of anything trivial or tawdry in the action. The company had performed all these characters on the European Continent, and in the Latin countries had even produced the "Crucifixion" without any opposition. One night after his performance of Cain, Keller came to me, who had been attentively watching the same, and asked me how I liked it, and upon my reply that I thought it a great piece of acting, he smilingly said: "Ye-es, my Cain is all goot, but if you would see mine Christ, you would spit upon my Cain." These exhibitions of mythology have never been attempted again, and it would be in vain to describe them adequately, but if one imagines all these classic subjects, represented by beautiful living human beings attired in the most classic costumes and aided by fitting music and

the best constructed stage properties of masks, flowers, horses, swans, etc., some faint idea may be had of this most rare show. But a single ludicrous incident happened during this engagement, and that was on the first night's performance of the "Famine in Egypt." A lot of starving Hebrew men, women and children were strewn around on the floor of a dilapidated hut, upon whose rafters were hung a number of hams and pork ribs. The audience hailed the scene with loud laughter, and Keller, who was the first of the actors to observe it, cried out: "My Gott, look at dot; dose Jews are starving because dey won't eat pork." The following day the hams were painted over.

During this engagement, also, a serious accident occurred. As the dancer, Miss Milly, leaned out of her dressing-room window to view the performance, her extended dancing skirts caught fire from a gas jet at her back. With a loud shriek and enveloped in flames, the terrified girl ran downstairs and on to the stage, where the Kellers, with all the little children in their light costumes around them, were just arranging another tableau. The distracted girl ran toward the group, and but for the timely presence of mind of Dr. Collins, who immediately seized her, and quenching the flames by throwing his large coat around her and pacifying the shrieking children, there would have been a great calamity. Keller immediately stepped before the curtain and calmed the audience, none of whom, however, attempted a stampede, brought the weeping girl in her burnt costume before the audience and assured them that she was not dangerously hurt, after which the performance proceeded as usual. Fortunately the young woman's face had escaped the flames, though her body was burnt so badly as to confine her to her bed for six weeks. Previous to this, a French dancer of Fields Varieties, a Mlle. Baron, had lost her life from the footlights setting fire to her costume. She was buried from the Cathedral, with considerable honor, and, having been quite a favorite, she was followed to her last resting place by a large concourse of friends and sympathizers.

Louis Keller, although an artist, was a business man and a first-class promoter and advertiser. He made a great deal of money here and he was generous in spending it. For every trifling service rendered him by the habitues of the theatre he paid in princely style, and his manner, though rough, was manly and honest, and his departure was regretted by all who had worked with him.

During this period Julia Dean, Mrs. Farren and Neafie, Dion Boucicault and wife and John Owens appeared at DeBar's St. Louis Theatre, which was fast growing in public favor.

The Varieties Theatre, our present Opera House, was occupied by Henry Boernstein and his Philo-dramatic Society, which was composed chiefly of the best German amateur talent, Mrs. Boernstein, a very fine actress, and a few more professionals. This company was achieving results that rivaled the best in the city. Henry Boernstein at the same time was the editor of the oldest and most important German newspaper in the city, a dramatic author and a writer of novels, one of which, the "Mysteries of St. Louis," was translated into English. Added to this, he was accounted an excellent stage director and actor, and he subsequently served as colonel of a volunteer regiment at the commencement of the Civil War, and he is reckoned among those who were instrumental in keeping this State in the Union. He was a man who, for his talents as an editor and publisher of the best popular German literature and his direction of the German theatre, which he sought to elevate to an institution of culture, deserves a place in the history of this commonwealth, though it seems his compatriots (of the present generation) have either never heard of him or have forgotten him. And, finally, as the man who, in 1855, during the Know-Nothing riots, stood up boldly to assert the rights of his countrymen, he has never had his superior among the large mass of Germans who have lived and died here since the founding of the city. Instead of getting rich, he spent or lost all in his pet enterprises and died in Vienna, a correspondent for the "Westliche Post."

The season at Wood's was now drawing to a close, and I had been promoted to what is termed a "second heavy man," and all the small character parts and so-called villians that were too light for the leading heavy man fell to my lot. Manager McVicker had been engaged to take the management of a new theatre in Chicago, which to this day is known as McVicker's Theatre. This, of course, meant a great change in the management of Wood's Theatre, and as I was anxious to take a flight into the world at large, I did not apply for the next season. The season under McVicker for me had been bright, instructive and full of novel interest. The work, though hard, had been steady and orderly, and so I did not grumble, for I wanted to act. When on the 4th day of July a matinee was announced to play a patriotic drama entitled "The Days of Seventy-six" or "The Spy," and after being dressed for the performance, we were told to go home, as there wasn't a soul in the house but a cat, I was very much disappointed. Since then I have often been compelled to play fourteen performances a week, with an every-day, and sometimes two all-night rehearsals, and at present I entertain different sentiments upon the subject. In spite of the hard work, those days were also prolific in great fun. To perpetrate practical jokes on each other was one of the most common forms of amusement of the youths of that period, and among the actors especially, reminding one of the pranks that boys play at college. I will relate a few samples of this species of diversion, which will give you an idea of their general nature and of the disposition of the perpetrators. In front of the theatre there had been for some time a long and deep hole in the middle of the street. Teams were forced to drive around it to avoid accidents, and in rainy weather it overflowed with water and slush to the depth of something more than two feet. The street inspector had been advised of this repeatedly, and asked to fill it up, as it prevented people from crossing the street to German's saloon between the acts. But the street inspector paid no attention whatever to the demands, and the puddle remained as heretofore. One evening as I came to the theatre, a large crowd of shouting

men and boys crowded the streets, and as I drew near a very comical scene presented itself. The actors had constructed a dummy and buried it in the puddle. The face was made up to resemble the features of the inspector, and the head, with an old stove pipe hat on it, looked out of the mud at one end of the well-heaped and neatly made grave, and the feet, cased in a pair of old boots up to the knees, appeared at the other; a white stage tombstone, stuck over and around with burning tallow candles, bore the following inscription:

> "Hic jacet in pace.
> Sacred to the memory of the street inspector of this ward,
> who was drowned here on the 20th inst., A.D. 1857.
> Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him well."

After a great deal of noise and merriment, the mob was dispersed by the police and the hole was filled up next day.

On another occasion a party of our actors and musicians, waiting for a rehearsal which had been postponed from the usual hour of ten to that of twelve, were watching a wood-sawyer across the street, a quaint looking old man dressed in the costume peculiar to the mountain peasants of Bavaria, which consisted of a furred, turban-like cap, a frayed black velvet jacket adorned with huge white metal buttons, brown leather knee breeches and gaiters. All agreed that the old man would serve for a splendid model for this or that part, and finally the question of his age and the hard labor he was performing were argued. Upon which, John Bernard, the leader of the orchestra, maintained that it was no harder work to saw wood than to saw a fiddle three hours every night, and that he could saw that wood with the greatest ease. Whereupon our prompter, James Thorpe, bet him two dollars he could not saw the remaining pile, estimated at about a quarter of a cord. The bet was taken up, the money deposited and Bernard at once pulled off his broadcloth coat and vest, took off his silk hat, and, after explaining the affair in German to the old sawyer, made him put on his fashionable coat, which almost reached down to the old man's ankles, and the hat falling upon his ears, while the tall leader squeezed him-

self into the Bavarian jacket, put on the furred cap, and, after taking the old man's long pipe in his mouth, lustily began his task. The wood-sawyer, who stood by bossing the job and smoking a fine Havana cigar, laughingly looked on. Of course this comic picture attracted a large crowd of boys and men, and before long the entire neighborhood was standing in the street and in doors and windows to witness the scene, and encourage the worker with shouts and cheers. When the job was done, Bernard was hailed with loud applause, and after he had changed clothes the money was delivered to the victor, who handed it to the old man, who received it with many thanks. A general drink was paid for by the loser, when the signal was given for the rehearsal, and all went in to work. Many other fooleries were perpetrated during this season, such as mystifying unsophisticated countrymen with cock-and-bull stories about actors, rubbing limburger cheese under the tailboard of the leader's violin; in short, these lads seemed to have more life than their profession could exhaust.

Three marriages took place in the company during the season. Benj. Vogel was joined in the bonds of wedlock, and John Bernard and Oswald Blake, the low comedian, were married to members of the company.

One of the most marked distinctions of the old actors from the present consisted in their family life, which, as near as possible, was like that of other people. The majority of those that were of age were married and had children, comparatively few of whom, however, have followed their parents' calling. I have known actor families of four, six, eight, and in one case of even twelve, children, most of whom have chosen other vocations in life, and I say it with pleasure that I am in touch with many of them this very day, and that as citizens and worthy members of their respective callings, they leave nothing to be wished for. The advantage the actor derived from this social distinction, a condition which entailed the cares, sorrows and joys of parental solicitude, could not but be instructive in the very essentials of life, and the effect this necessarily would have on their moral

actions and artistic labors certainly must have been beneficial. With the present itinerant system, a family life, of course, is impossible.

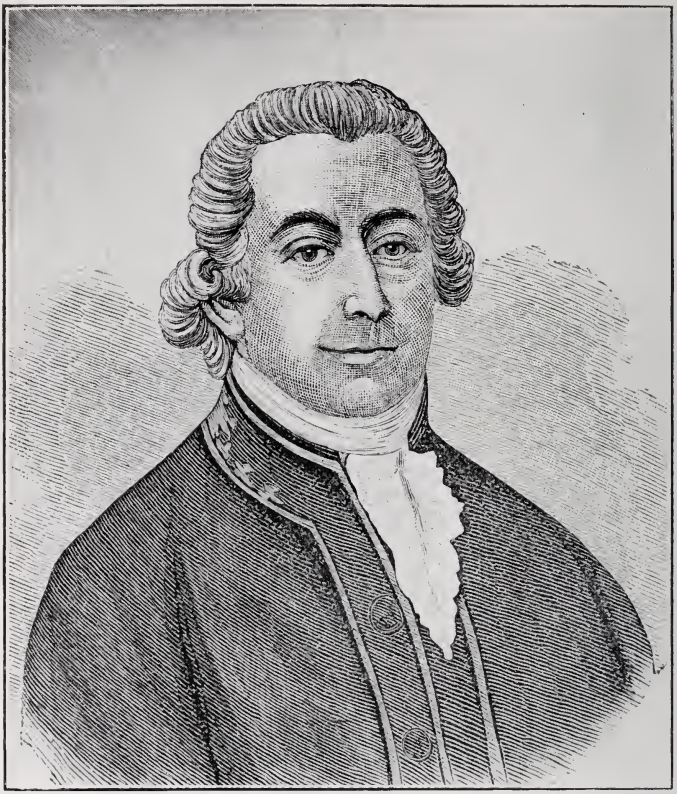
As I have now arrived at the termination of my first season and the fulfillment of my youthful ambition, I will ring down the curtain upon the first act of my theatrical career.

(*Continuation to follow.*)

"April 1830

"We arrived at St Louis on Sunday the 25th of April, on so cold a morning that the first request I made on reaching the City hotel, in the upper part of the town, was for a fire which was immediately granted. The hotel turned out a very comfortable one. It contains a great deal of accommodation. The only inconvenience I felt arose from the people not being accustomed, as seems generally the case in the western country, to place water-basons and a towel in every bed room. The system of washing at some place near the well is general, but the waiters or chamber-maids never refuse to bring every thing to the bed room that is desired. It is, however, so little the practice to bring washing apparatus to the bed rooms, that they are very apt to forget a general direction regularly to do so. . . . .

I found that coal fires were universal at St Louis. There were more Frenchmen than Englishmen in the hotel, and a group of Mexicans from Santa Fé. There is a road, or a passable tract, from hence to Santa Fé which wagons travel with an escort."—*Three Years in North America* by James Stuart. Esq—



Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS.

BARON CARONDELET, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA, TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DON CARLOS HOWARD.

General Archives of Indies. Seville. Papers coming from the Island of Cuba. Louisiana. Correspondence of Governors. (Translated from the Spanish.)

General and secret instructions to be followed by the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Stationary Regiment of Louisiana, Don Carlos Howard,[1] who is military commandant of Upper Louisiana; which is from New Madrid inclusive as far as the last discoveries of the Company of Missouri.

Leaving this city in the galley Phelipa with twenty men, selected and directed by a subaltern officer, with the pretext of replacing at Natchez the Governor Gayoso,[2] who is in charge

[1] Our first knowledge of Howard is obtained from a letter of Dr. James O'Fallon to Governor Mirò, dated 24 May, 1790. In this letter Dr. O'Fallon says: "I was corresponding with the governor of East Florida through my intimate friend, Captain Charles Howard, secretary of that province."

Colonel Andrew Ellicott, in his voyage down the river, met Colonel Howard on his way up, about midway between the Chickasaw Bluffs and the Walnut Hills (Memphis and Vicksburg). Ellicott, in his Journal (page 36), says, under date 15 January, 1797: "Were brought to about two o'clock in the afternoon by Colonel Howard, an Irish gentleman in the service of His Catholic Majesty, who had two armed galleys with him."

Howard must have reached St. Louis in February, 1797. The only information to be had as to the length of his stay is dervied from a letter of his to Soulard, dated 1 August, 1797, in which he says: "Even at this day, when I am leaving this place, my successor, Don Zenon Trudeau," etc. In this letter he designates himself "Don Carlos Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana, and by special commission of the Sôr Field Marshal, the Baron de Carondelet, Military Commander of Upper Louisiana."

Gayarré mentions that, in 1806, Colonel Howard was in command at Pensacola and was conciliatory in his disposition towards the Americans. 4 Gayarré, History of Louisiana, 155-6.

With this, he disappears from our view.

[2] Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos became Governor of Louisiana, 1 August, 1797, and died while in office, 18 July, 1799, aged forty-eight years. He

of tracing the boundary lines, he will find upon his arrival the small galley of the King, the "Activa," in which he will embark with his detachment and crew with the least possible delay, transferring to same half of the crew of the Phelipa, from which he will select the strongest and most courageous people, giving them, if necessary in order to satisfy them, one month's wages in advance, and taking from same Phelipa two months' supply of provisions at least, for all his men, to which Governor Gayoso will contribute; to whom he must tell in confidence what is to be done in St. Louis of Illinois in order to restore the peace which has been marred by some hot headed people since the departure of General Collot,[3] and nothing more, because nothing more must be known in regard to the evacuation of the *Barrancas* at Margot,[4] nor of anything else referred to in this instruction.

was an officer in the army and had attained the rank of Colonel. He succeeded Grand Pré as commandant at Natchez, and held that position when advanced to the governership. He was at New Madrid in 1795, with a commission to treat with the disaffected Kentuckians. He was educated in England and married an American girl—a Miss Watts. He was a man of good character and abilities, but a spendthrift.

[3] Gen. George Victor Collot came to St. Louis from Philadelphia in 1796. He studied the situation from a military point of view, and his book contains a plan for the fortification of the place. Governor Carondelet confiscated a part of General Collot's papers and his instructions concerning the fort at St. Louis show that he was disposed to profit by them. General Collot's book, which was published after his death, contains a plan of St. Louis and several excellent maps of the Mississippi River.

Collot was no doubt sent by Genet to spy out the land in furtherance of some design which was never carried out or attempted.

[4] For the location and early history of the *Ecores à Margot*, see Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 76n. The Barrancas, or, to give it its full name, Fort San Fernando de Barrancas, was erected pursuant to a treaty with the Chickasaws, negotiated by Gayoso a year or two before, for the purpose of protecting Louisiana from any invasion which might proceed from the United States. Although a stockade was commenced soon afterwards, the fort was not completed until May, 1795. In June, 1795, the Baron de Carondelet wrote to Maison Rouge "that the strong fort at the post of 'Echore Margot,' defended by eight pieces of eight-pound cannon, was completed on the 31st of May, 1795, when the Spanish flag was hoisted and saluted by repeated discharges of cannon from the shore as well as from the galleys in the river." For some reason, Colonel Howard did not destroy the fort upon his way to St. Louis, as here

On his arrival at the *Barrancas* he will secretly, with the commandant, Don Jose Ville, and with the commander of the galleys, Don Manuel Garcia, take all the measures for the evacuation of the place, where nothing will remain, throwing in the river or burning whatever cannot be brought in the galleys.

As the Chickasaw Indians may resent the evacuation, it will be best to do it with much order and speed; the battery, or at least one pair of cannons, remaining set up until the last moment, as well as one of the forts, which will be burnt when embarking, after having removed all the hardware serviceable. If any chief or trader of the Chickasaws would make opposition with his warriors to the destruction of the buildings, they will be told that it is in their interest that they be destroyed, so as to prevent the Americans from easily locating in them.

After everything is loaded in the galleys and other smaller boats they will go towards New Madrid, where the following dispositions will be made for the Illinois expedition.

From the troop of the royal body of artillery of the standing army of Louisiana, and from the pieces of artillery collected at that port, will be assigned to

NEW MADRID,

Outfit.

Cannons of four	4 with 100 bullets and 90 grape-shots.
Stone guns	4 with 40 shots.
Powder.	
Artillerymen, including a corporal	2
Troop of the Stationary Regiment (*del fixo*)	32

instructed; he destroyed it in the autumn of 1797, upon his voyage back to New Orleans.

See 1 Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 484-531. The United States later built Fort Pickering at about the same place.

ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS,

All the balance of the artillery.
Stone guns, do.
Artillerymen, including a corporal..... 2
Troop of the Stationary Regiment..... 110
including four sergeants, eight corporals and two drummers.

In order to complete this detachment in New Madrid, 61 men of the Stationary Regiment will be taken up, including the 20 of the active service, all artillerymen, the artillery and stone-slingers with their weapons and ammunition in the two galleys, small galleys and cannon launches, in case they can be contained therein, and the rest in the third galley, which will be put immediately in movement, commanded by Don Juan Barno, and will return to this capital, leaving on the way ten men in Arkansas.[5] If the third galley should be needed for the expedition, the surplus troops will be embarked in same, and the goods which have to be returned to the capital will remain stored at New Madrid until their return.

In order that the restless spirits in St. Louis shall not be surprised at the coming of the expedition, he will have to spread the news after his arrival at New Madrid that the object of his trip is to protect St. Louis, Illinois, from any possible invasion of the British, in case a war should be declared; but if, on his arrival at New Madrid, the river should be frozen and one should deem urgent his arrival with his detachment at St. Louis, he should try all possible means to get on by land, leaving orders to the commander of the galleys to follow with his squadron as soon as the ice would permit.

There not being in St. Louis sufficient quarters for lodging one hundred and ten men, who have to remain as garrison, the residents must give lodging in their own houses to those who cannot find room at the fort, or a house must be rented at the expense of the residents, making them understand that this troop is there for their own protection and defense.

[5] For Arkansas Post, see 2 Missouri Historical Society Collections No. 6, p. 76*n*.

He should try also to see that room could be secured at the house of some of the best citizens for the three officers of his detachment, Jose de Ville, D. Francisco Borras and D. Federico Anteman, and as near as possible to the troop, so the strictest discipline be observed; the same care will be taken as to the artillery, making them both drill frequently in the handling of the arms as well as that of the cannon.

After the troop is established and all of the artillery is unloaded, with the ammunition, weapons, etc., which will be temporarily placed in the neighborhood of the fort whilst they are being distributed in the points of defense, as deemed necessary, he will call a meeting of the most prominent residents and will tell them how disagreeable had been to me the ungratefulness shown by some of the residents towards the Spanish Government, which has always tried, especially since the last few years, to promote business and the prosperity of the Illinois Establishments, and they had gone to excesses, not only in showing an indecent joy at the unfounded hope that they would change rulers, but they went as far as to form a private society called "Sansculottes,"[6] singing turbu-

[6] The following is from a letter of the Baron de Carondelet to Aranza, dated December 1, 1796:

"The effects of the voyage made to this Province by the General of the French Republic, George Victor Collot, have very soon become apparent. I detained him some days on account of his having made in detail the plan of the river and most of the forts of this Province, as Your Excellency will have been advised by my Captain General. For I am advised under date of 17 October, that in St. Louis of Illinois, capital of those settlements, that after his departure a society has been formed under the name of Sanculottes, at the head of which is a Frenchman by name of Coignard; that it gives frequent meetings and public balls, to which invitations are sent out without dissimulation under the said name of Sanculottes, and that during these entertainments revolutionary songs are sung which are capable of inducing the most loyal vassals to rebellion; that that same Society had the boldness to march through the houses of the most notable inhabitants of the town, and especially that of the Curé, with music, to wish a Happy New Year on the 22nd day of September last, or rather on the eve of the 23rd, on which the year begins, according to the new French Calendar.

It is all the more important to crush out without delay the beginnings of so dangerous a sedition, which, if extended to the other towns of which St. Louis, Illinois is the capital, their suppression would be extremely

lent and revolutionary songs depreciating the government; but, after having been well informed of the parties who had promoted such excesses, and well convinced that the rest had

difficult and costly; first, because those settlements from New Madrid up can withdraw themselves totally from Lower Louisiana whenever they need, and sell their fruits and goods, which consist principally of skins, to the English and Americans at better prices than those of the capital; second, because of the ease with which they could receive support secretly from the English of Canada who trade upon the Missouri, as well as from the democratic Americans and French, who would come in numbers to establish themselves in these fertile and beautiful countries; finally, because any expedition which might be sent out to reduce the revolters could set out only from New Orleans, and it would necessarily take from two and a half to three months to reach St. Louis, and the cost would consequently be immense, and as it could only receive supplies and aid from Lower Louisiana, it would be exposed to perish from hunger, in the event that its progress should be retarded. All these considerations had determined me to send secretly the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Stationary Regiment, Don Carlos Howard, an officer of tried courage and talents, to Illinois, with secret orders to arrest upon his arrival the Chief of the Coignard Society, with some of the other most notable members, and send them promptly to this capital for trial and make an exemplary punishment of those who should be found guilty."

Louis Coignard was an European Frenchman, son of Jean Louis Coignard and Marianne Pelagie Baudri of Chatillon in Poitou, where he was born. He married in St. Louis, 26 April, 1797, Julie Vasquez, daughter of Benito Vasquez, one of the leading Spanish citizens. The archives show that on 10 June, 1797, he bought of Guillaume Hebert *dit* Le compte a negro girl named Benita, for four hundred and fifty dollars; Don Federico Anteman signing the bill of sale as a witness. Five years later, Coignard, then a citizen and merchant of New Madrid, lent his father-in-law $2,000, the payment being secured by a mortgage upon Vasquez's farm on White Ox prairie (*en la praderia llamada El Buey Blanco*), near St. Louis. Two years later, Coignard, still at New Madrid, acknowledged satisfaction of the mortgage. One Isaac Septlivres married another of the daughters of Vasquez. It seems that a part of her *dot* was the farm on White Ox prairie. Septlivres borrowed money from his brother-in-law, Coignard, who again received a mortgage on this land as security. Septlivres failed to pay, and at the November term, 1826, of the St. Louis Circuit Court, Coignard brought suit to foreclose the mortgage. After this we see him no more.

There were two men in St. Louis bearing the name Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachanse, whom Billon has compressed into one. The elder and first comer, here as early as 1767, was a *maitre maçon* and a trader in town lots. He was a capable, active man, but uneducated; not being able to write his name. He was never married, and died in 1784, leaving his property by will to Tayon and Mainville. The younger Jean Marie Pepin seems to have come to St. Louis in the year 1774, or earlier. He describes

been drawn in inconsiderately through fear and bad example, he had decided that those named Coignard, Pepin, and the others of whose bad conduct he has information, should be

himself as "*commerciante voyageur.*" He also traded in town lots. He was born near Quebec, 3 April, 1737. His sister, Marie Christine Pepin, was married in St. Louis in January, 1774, to Charles Biset. He was killed in the *coup* of 1780, and a little over a year later she married Jean Baptiste Provencher. Jean Marie married, 13 November, 1779, Catherine, daughter of François Lalumandiere and Louise Perthuis, of Ste. Genevieve.

In the census of 1787 he and his family appear as follows:

"Juan Maria Pepen,		*edad*	48
Catarina, su mujer,		"	29
Sus hijas	Caterina	"	5
	Celeste	"	3"

His occupation is given as *Labrador*—farmer—and his products for the year 200 minots of wheat, 330 of maize and 3,000 pounds of lead.

Pepin's disposition to be "*agin the gov'ment*" was not a consequence of the French Revolution. In Professor Alvord's admirable edition of the Cahokia Records, 1778-1790, we find this judgment against him, under date 2 February, 1790:

"The Court, having carefully deliberated, declared the said M. Pepin a disturber of the peace of this village, caught and convicted of having wished to excite a sedition against the Court; and he has held in this village discourses against it, leading to menaces, defiances and outrages on its authority, and other injurious talk; for reparation of which the said Court condemns him to be held in prison in irons, under the custody of the bailiff, two militia men and an officer of the militia for five days; at the end of which time he shall be placed outside of the prison and conducted by a guard to the Mississippi, and commanded to cross to the Spanish part and never to reappear in this village without permission of the commandant of this post or of a magistrate, on pain of corporal punishment." 2 Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, 437.

Since it was not the practice then, as it is now, to nullify such judgments by an appeal, M. Pepin doubtless served his term and gave the Cahokians no more trouble.

Subsequent to 1797 his name has not been found in the St. Louis archives. Billon says that he removed to Ste. Genevieve soon after his marriage, which is a manifest error. I am informed, however, that after 1797 he did live at Ste. Genevieve, where he was a prosperous lead miner, and that he left a considerable family. His daughter, Celeste, married at Ste. Genevieve. 12 February, 1804, Charles Archambeau, and in the marriage contract she is described as daughter of the late (*fille de feu*) Jean Marie Pepin.

The fact that what appears to have been a dangerous blow aimed at the people of the village was warded off without injury, is to be attributed,

sent to the capital. (Don Zenon Trudeau,[7] Vallé[8] and Don Carlos Lassus[9] will take care that the number be reduced as

no doubt, to the active interference of Governor Trudeau and the other persons recommended by Carondelet to Howard as advisers, in behalf of the accused.

[7] Zenon Trudeau was Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis from 21 July, 1792, to 2 August, 1799. It was during his incumbency that the official designation of the country was changed from *la partida occidental de Illinois* to *Alta Luisiana*—from "the western part of the Illinois" to Upper Louisiana. Trudeau came of a distinguished Louisiana family, deriving its American origin from Canada. He was born 9 November, 1748; married at New Orleans, 10 June, 1781, the Damoiselle Eulalie de Lassize; died in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, in 180–. Trudeau's "Excessive indulgence" to Collot was that he allowed him to make a short voyage up the Missouri.

[8] For an account of Don Francisco Vallé, see Notes on the Genealogy of the Vallé Family, by Mary Louise Dalton, Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2, No. 7.

[9] Don Carlos de Hault Delassus, second son of Pierre de Luziere (see *infra*, note 15), was born at Bouchaine in the ancient province of Hainault, in April, 1764. In 1782 he entered into the Spanish army under the arrangement called the *Pacte de famille*, permitting Frenchmen to enter the Spanish service, and Spaniards the French, without losing their nationality. He became distinguished for his soldierly qualities and was promoted to lieutenant-colonel on the battle-field in 1793. The next year he was placed in command of the King's body-guard in Madrid. Here his rapid advancement was certain. But, receiving a letter from his father in America which depressed him, he (to translate his own words) threw himself at the feet of the King and begged of His Grace permission to go as lieutenant-colonel to the regiment of Louisiana, where he could be useful to his family. The King immediately granted his request. Delassus writes as though he left Spain at once for Louisiana, and says, "and upon my arrival the Governor, the Baron de Carondelet, facilitated my projects by appointing me civil and military commandant of New Madrid, to which place I ascended in a *batteau* freighted with merchandise." It was not until December, 1796, that Delassus took command at New Madrid. In August, 1799, he was promoted to be lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana, and removed to St. Louis. He continued to govern Upper Louisiana until he surrendered it to France, 9 March, 1804. Joining his regiment at Pensacola, he was later sent as commandant to Baton Rouge, where he remained until 1810, when he resigned from the army. He married at Baton Rouge in 1811, a daughter of Don Gilberto Leonard, the Spanish *contador*. She died in 1816, and shortly afterward the Governor returned to St. Louis and purchased a farm on the river north of where the U. S. Arsenal now stands. After about ten years he removed to New Orleans and died there 1 May, 1843. He had three children, two of whom died in childhood. The survivor, a son, returned to Missouri, and died January, 1889, leaving descendants.

far as possible, in order to tranquilize the rest of the inhabitants), adding, finally, that I am convinced that all the inhabitants will contribute with their efforts and with their slaves to put the town, with its property and children, under safeguard from the insults of the British, for which reason I sent them a numerous detachment. He will at once ask for a list of the people who are able to take up arms, for their age and skill, what their weapons are, and ammunition, and, after adjourning the meeting, he will have the guilty ones captured and embarked on board of the galleys, and same will be started away, and watched by the balance of the army of the 110 men of the standing army who have to remain in St. Louis.

The galley "Venganza," with the two small galleys and the cannon launch, will remain in St. Louis, the first only with its captain and two sailors, the two small galleys under the direction of the lieutenant of the army, Don Juan Metzinger, and the second lieutenant, Don Bernard Molina, with its crew each one complete, and the cannon launch with a patron and two sailors. The direction of the marine will remain in charge of said Juan Metzinger, who will take orders from the lieutenant colonel, Don Carlos Howard, military commandant.

In case the galley should have to be equipped for some expedition, Don Juan Metzinger will have to command it, and its crew must be completed from that of the two small galleys, but if these should be necessary just at the same time, one would then complete that of the galley with people of the country, who would be paid just like the other sailors, unless they consent to go as volunteers and without any payment; with the promise to have a certain part in the booty which will be taken from the enemy; the same will be done when it is necessary to equip the cannon launch.

From the two large galleys which must return to the capital, the hand grenades, weapons and ammunition will be taken, and, if necessary, the four-pounders from the bow, for the defense of the town, leaving to the commander of the galleys the captain of the army, Don Manuel Garcia, who must return with them, the account of everything that has been taken from them.

Circumstances not permitting the undertaking of works of any magnitude without prior approval of His Majesty, all that will be put into effect, in accordance with the plan accompanying, is to place the town in safety from an assault by temporary fortifications and field works, the total cost of which will not exceed five thousand pesos, availing themselves of the advantages offered by the situation of the town and the vicinity of the ravine running on its right. The low ground ought to be inundated by means of a dam, which will make the water overflow, which will be protected by a redoubt which will be raised over the same side, fires of which must cross with those of the fort,[10] and these with those of the

[10] "The town of St. Louis, capital of Upper Louisiana, being extremely important on account of its situation, for upon its holding depends that of the whole territory as far as Akansar, a post located two hundred and fifty leagues lower down, it is very possible, and even probable, that the English will undertake its conquest, which in its present condition would cost them no more than to present themselves with six hundred men, as its only defense consists of a little stockade fort, garrisoned by twenty-eight men. Consequently I have determined to put it at little cost in a state of regular defense, making use of a creek, the waters of which would make a considerable inundation around it by means of a dam, and building at its two extremes two redoubts of earth and fascines, and mounted by several guns, which would cross fires with the fort situated in the center upon a very advantageous elevation. As the enemy cannot bring artillery without the greatest difficulty, it is evident that with the detachment which St. Louis will have, and some five companies of excellent militia which can be raised, it will be capable of a regular defense against the forces that can attack it."—Letter of Carondelet to Aranza, quoted from above.

The fort at St. Louis which, it is said, was called Fort San Carlos, stood upon the brow of the hill at the intersection of Walnut Street and Fourth. A satisfactory account of its building cannot now be given. It seems that the tower was begun prior to 1780. Pascal Cerré, speaking of the *coup* of 1780, says that the alarm gun was shot from the tower to warn the people. (Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 52.) It is known that subsequent to the *coup*, Governor Cruzat, in 1780, had the village surrounded with a palisade and work done upon the fortifications, but they were not completed. August Chouteau, in May, 1794, in his proposal to build Fort Carondelet on the Osage River, stipulates that "it shall have four bastions, with the corresponding footbank, like the fort recently built at St. Louis of Illinois." Just what additions Colonel Howard made to the fort we do not know. He built several round towers on the line of the palisade and a block house on the bank of Mill Creek, about on the north line of the present Chouteau Avenue, west of the mid-

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Fort San Carlos, Fourth and Walnut Streets, St. Louis.

battery, which will be raised on the levee started at the left, which part on the river will be protected by the heavy artillery of the galley and of the cannon launch.

As the fort is protected but by one stockade, this will be strengthened by a covered way, providing the land will permit.

For the direction of these works, Don Luis Vandenbenden[11] will be employed; a skilled engineer, who will receive 80 pesos a month salary while on service, until His Majesty should decide upon the rank that he would choose to bestow upon him.

As all those works will be upon the land and serve principally for the protection of the inhabitants of the town as well as the vicinity, one shall try to encourage them to work without any profit to raise them, and in case of necessity, the army and fleet will be compelled to work at it, by means of a gratification of two reales per day, as usual.

As upon the protection of the town of St. Louis, Illinois, depends the safety of all Upper Louisiana, from the Missouri, inclusive, as far as New Madrid, it will be necessary that, in case the town should be threatened by the British, to gather in same all the militia of the country, which will compose a body of nine companies, that is, three in St. Louis, three in St. Genevieve, one in Carondelet, one in St. Charles and one in Florissant, a sufficient number, with the regular troops, to make a brilliant defense; so much the more that the enemy cannot attack the town with artillery, on account of the diffi-

dle line, between Third and Fourth Streets. After the transfer, the round tower was used for a jail until a new jail was built at Sixth and Chestnut Streets in 1817 or 1818. The officers' quarters, the large house shown in the picture was used as a courthouse. The long building in the rear of the tower was the barrack for the men, and the small dome shaped structure was the magazine. It stood towards the southeast corner of the Southern Hotel, and its foundation was removed in excavating for the original hotel building. In Brackenridge's "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West" there is an interesting account of an Indian prisoner in the tower, and his trial in the Court.

[11] Louis Vanderbenden was a Hollander. He lived at New Madrid. His widow married at New Madrid, Richard Jones Waters.

cult and almost impossible transportation of the same from Lake Michigan.

Although the forces that may be used may be very small, one must only think of making a good defense; the circumstances offered may be such as to make much damage to the enemy with little expense.

Two essential objects must have the attention of the lieutenant-colonel, Carlos Howard: the protection of the town of St. Louis, and the destruction of the English trade on the Upper Mississippi as well as on the Missouri. We have already spoken about the first, and as for the second, if, right after having arranged the lodging and distribution of his detachment and secured the necessary data, he orders an expedition to explore the coasts of the Mississippi from St. Louis to the mouth of the St. Peter's River, it is probable that he will destroy and capture many canoes of English property, whose goods can be equally distributed between the King and those composing the expedition; but, in order to be protected from insults on the part of the savages siding with the British, it will be desirable to have the cannon launch in the expedition, with the small galleys, as the large artillery contained in the first will frighten them and make them flee.

In the year 1781 [12] a number of the people of St. Louis, with some savages, captured St. Joseph, on the river of the same name which is a tributary to the Lake Michigan; what was done then could be done now with better means and skill. The captain of the militia, Carlos Tayon,[13] who took charge

[12] For the Expedition of 1781, see 2 Missouri Historical Society Collections, No. 6, p. 74*n*.

Also Professor Alvord's Edition of the Cahokia Records, referred to above.

[13] Carlos Tayon was the son of Joseph Michel *dit* Taillon and Marie Louise Boissel. His parents came from Canada to the Illinois at an early date. They were at Fort Chartres in 1748, and removed to St. Louis in 1764. Charles Tayon was born in 1759. There is an hiatus in the parish records of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres, so that the exact date of his birth is not ascertainable. He married at St. Louis in 1780, Cecile Deschamps. He did not command the party which captured St. Joseph, Michigan, as stated in the text, but was a subaltern under Eugene Pouré *dit* Beausoleil. At the time Duchouquette was killed on the banks of Chouteau's Pond

of that expedition, is still living, and I have no doubt that he will teach the way of taking and destroying that place a second time.

A like expedition could be attempted against any other post that the British have established in order to trade in furs, on the nearest rivers. But, providing the news is confirmed which the lieutenant-governor, Don Zenon Trudeau has obtained concerning the establishment of a fort by the British at the Mandan Nation,[14] he will fit out with the greatest secrecy (considering all the information that he may be able to secure from the traders who have gone as far as that nation), a sufficient expedition for destroying such fort; as the order of His Majesty on this matter is positive and does not admit any objections nor any further delay, than what is necessary in the selection of the most favorable season for the success of the expedition.

As it may very well be that the French may attack Canada by the St. Lawrence River, and rouse a revolution in their favor, which would surely cause the Governor of Canada to bring all his attention and forces towards Upper Canada, the Lieutenant Colonel, Carlos Howard, will try beforehand to secure information as to the force and situation of the English posts and of the disposition of their inhabitants, chiefly of Michelimakinak, to stir up at that place at the same time a

by a party of Lenapé Indians, Tayon led a troop of soldiers in pursuit of the Indians and killed five of them. For his precipitancy he was reprimanded by the Spanish authorities. In a petition for a grant of land, dated 14 January, 1800, he is described as sub-lieutenant in the army, Captain of Militia and Commandant of the Post of St. Charles of Missouri.

Merriwether Lewis writes, 20 May, 1804, (1 Lewis and Clark Journals, Thwaites's Ed., p. 23): "Suped this evening with Monsr. Charles Tayong, a Spanish Ensign and late Commandant of St. Charles." The date of his death is not ascertained.

[14] Lewis and Clark found representatives of the Northwest Fur Company at the Mandan village, but Dr. Coues makes no mention of there having been a British fort at that place. In his letter to Aranza, quoted above, Carondelet says: "I propose to suppress the clandestine commerce which the English from Canada carry on upon the Mississippi, from the river of St. Peter to St. Louis of Illinois, and from that town to the Mandan nation, situated upon the Missouri, four hundred leagues above St. Louis; to destroy the fort which they have built upon the River Chato" (Platte).

revolution in lower Canada in favor of France, which would put Upper Louisiana entirely in safety from the British during this war; seeing that the correspondence that the inhabitants of St. Louis have with those of Michelimakinak is very lively, and there will not be much difficulty for forming secret plots with them, and one can promise them weapons, ammunition, and even to support them with an expedition, in case, as I said, the English Governor would withdraw the army from lower Canada, in order to fight the French in Upper Canada.

The men to be used in any of the above expeditions will not exceed two hundred, counting the regular troops and the militia; it is well understood that from the first not over forty men can be spared, which commission will be especially that of artillery, providing for the expedition some light batteries to be used, the effect of which will be very useful with the savages. From these one can select as many as two hundred of the most loyal and courageous for each expedition; promising them a part of the booty, providing a large one is made, the same promise can be given to those of the inhabitants who will volunteer without any salary, in the expedition; the rest will have the usual salary while under service, and a daily ration; when the Stationary Regiment is complete, or His Majesty decides that the number of troops in the province be increased, the St. Louis garrison will be strengthened in order to place it in a position to more annoy the British and, above all, to ruin their trade in the northern part of the Missouri.

It is decided that the Lieutenant Governor, Don Zenon Trudeau, will remain with the civil command of the Illinois establishment and of St. Louis, owing to the knowledge he has of affairs there, obtained by four years' service, and to the great attachment its inhabitants in general show to him. He is soft-hearted, sometimes to the extreme, but he is a very good officer, and fully trustworthy; his excessive indulgence with General Collot was the result of his sweet and peaceable character. It is necessary that Mr. Howard shall treat him

with kindness and trust, so that the inhabitants will gladly execute his military orders.

The Lieutenant, Don Jose de Ville de Zontin, is an officer of firm character, to whom one can trust the command of an expedition, which may require courage and activity, as well as the interests of the detachment; although it will be more suitable that Don Zenon Trudeau would take them in his own charge.

The second lieutenant, Don Francisco Borras, has only the courage of a grenadier, and his conduct is not good.

The lieutenant of the army, Don Juan Metzinger, is fearless, an excellent hunter and untiring, without any military tactics, always willing, and a very good hand stroke; to keep the good order and the discipline in the marine, he must remain as commander of all the King's ships.

The second lieutenant, Don Bernards Molina, is rough and coarse, but untiring, courageous, and an excellent man for subduing his inferiors; his sailors say that he is addicted to drink since he is in service.

The lieutenant-colonel, Don Carlos Lassus, commander of New Madrid, is an excellent person who has distinguished himself in the last wars, and a very honorable man. His father, Don Pedro Lusiere,[15] a rich French emigrant, is living retired in Ste. Genevieve, by whose citizens he is much

[15] Pierre Charles Dehault, Knight, Lord of de Lassus, de Luziere, and Knight of the Royal Order of St. Michel, Captain and Commandant, Civil and Military, of New Bourbon and its Dependencies, is the way he is described in a petition for the grant of land bearing date 1795. He was of the old nobility of Hainault, now Department du Nord, in France.

He emigrated to the United States in 1790, with his wife, two sons, a daughter and several servants. Not having succeeded in his enterprises in the United States, he came to Louisiana, the Governor of which, the Baron de Carondelet, was a friend of his childhood. A concession of land near Ste. Genevieve was made to him and he there founded a settlement which he called *Nouvelle Bourbon*. In 1799 this settlement had over five hundred inhabitants, but it has long since disappeared from the map.

A letter of Wm. Henry Harrison to Governor Delassus, dated 1802, contains complimentary messages to Monsieur and Madame de Luziere. He was certainly living at the time of the transfer of the country to the United States, 10 March, 1804. The date of his death is not ascertained. For his titles, see U. S. Reports, 9 Peters, p. 121.

esteemed, also the commander, Don Francisco Vallé, who is a man of good qualities, although without any military tactics; both are deserving of great trust, and with their influence, that town, which is getting more populous and useful, could be easily handled; but one ought to send away from there the army captain, Don Enrique Peiroux,[16] who is a very suspicious individual, and seditious, if any plausible cause is to be found for this act. About two years ago he promised to leave that post, after my predecessor had made him commander, but he has never done so.

Don Luis Lorimer,[17] captain of the militia established at Cape Girardeau, is a Frenchman, who has served us well during the last war, and whose influence on part of the Shawnee Nation, from which he took an Indian girl for his wife, can be very useful; for the rest, he is a man of interested views, who thinks of his promotion.

In St. Louis the two brothers Chouteau,[18] the son of Don

[16] Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere was Captain of Infantry and Civil and Military Commandant of Ste. Genevieve as early as December, 1787. Upon the promotion of Delassus to the governorship of Upper Louisiana in 1799, Peyroux was transferred to New Madrid, but was not in command there in 1804. He was born in France and was the son of Charles Peyroux and Marguerite Suzanne Joualt. His widowed mother and his brother, Pierre Charles Peyroux, also lived at Ste. Genevieve. Jean Baptiste Vallé said of Henry Peyroux that he was a man of property and useful in the country, and that he remained a citizen till long after the purchase of the country by the American Government.

[17] Louis Lorimier was born in Canada in 1748, according to his tombstone. His name does not appear in Tanguay; but he was, perhaps, the son of Claude de Lorimier, *chevalier et captaine*, who married, 7 January, 1730, at Montreal, Marie-Louise Le Pailleux. He is said to have lived in the Miami River in Ohio, prior to his coming to Missouri. He established a trading post at Cape Girardeau about 1794, and was made commandant of the settlement that sprang up there. He was twice married, first to Charlotte Boucherville, a French-Shawnee half breed; and second, to Mary Bethune, a French-Lenapé half breed. The first wife is said to have been a beautiful woman; she died 23 March, 1808, leaving six children, and she has many descendants now living. Lorimier died at Cape Girardeau, 26 June, 1812. Governor Delassus had a much better opinion of Lorimier than that expressed by Carondelet. (See 1 Billon, p. 368).

[18] The two brothers Chouteau are Auguste and Pierre. Pierre Chouteau, who later received the title of Major, spent most of his time among the Osage Indians. He testified, in 1833, that he had been for thirty years among the Indians, with only short stays in St. Louis. In 1792 the

Pedro Luziere [19] and Don . . Soulard,[20] deserve all confidence, the first for their great influence on the numerous tribes of the Osages, they can be very useful in the expeditions; the others, having served in the French marine, can be employed

Osages made him a grant of land in what is now Cooper County, in the following words:

"Brother: As thou hast, since a long time, fed our wives and our children, and that thou hast always been good to us, and that thou hast always assisted us with thy advice, we have listened with pleasure to thy words, therefore, take thou on the River La Mine, the quantity of land which may suit thee, and anywhere thou pleasest. This land is ours; we do give it to thee, and no one can take it from thee, neither to-day nor ever. Thou mayest remain there, and thy bones shall never be troubled. Thou askest a paper from us, and our names; here it is. If our children do trouble thee, you have but to show this same paper; and if some nation disturbs thee, we are ready to defend thee. At the fort of Grand Osages, this 19 of March, 1792."

This paper was signed by Cheveux Blanc, Clermont, Bel Oiseau and many other of the principal men among the Osages. The land so given was further granted to Mr. Chouteau by the Spanish Government and confirmed to him by the United States. Chouteau Spring, in Cooper County, still remains as a memorial of this grant.

Of Auguste Chouteau, Carondelet, in a letter to the Duke of Alcudia, dated 31 May, 1794, says, speaking of a government contract which had been made with Chouteau: "All the risk falls on Don Renato Auguste Chouteau, a man of incorruptible integrity and friendliness to the government; his abilities and wide knowledge, and ,above all, the great authority that he possesses over these Savages, furnish him with facilities for succeeding in an enterprise so arduous that no other man could attain it."

[19] Jacques Marcellin Ceran de Hault de Lassus de St. Vrain, was the third son of Pierre de Luziere, born at Bouchaine in Hainault in 1770. He came with his father and his family to Louisiana in 1793, and after a short stay at New Bourbon, came to St. Louis. Having been an officer in the French navy, he became here commander of the King's galley La Flecha—the Arrow—and captain of militia. On 30 April, 1796, he married Marie Felicite Chauvet Dubreuil of St. Louis, and made his home at the Spanish Lake, twelve miles north of the village, on the Bellefontaine road. He had a large family; among his sons was Felix St. Vrain, who was United States Indian agent and was killed by the Saukies in 1832, and Col. Ceran St. Vrain, who was a partner in the firm of Bent, St. Vrain & Co., and who was a man of distinguished character, famous in the annals of Colorado and New Mexico.

Jacques St. Vrain died 22 June, 1818

[20] Antoine Pierre Soulard was born at Rochefort in France in the year 1766. He was an officer in the French navy, as his father had been before him. The Revolution drove him to become an *emigré* in 1794. He landed in Massachusetts and came at once to St. Louis, traveling to Pittsburgh on horseback and from there by boat. He became captain of militia, adjutant to the lieutenant-governor and Surveyor-General of Upper Louisiana.

in the same capacity in the expedition on the river. Soulard can also serve for the direction of the works under the orders of the volunteer engineer, Don Luis Vandenbenden, with the lieutenant, Don Jose de Ville.

Messrs. Clamorgan,[21] director of the Company of Missouri, Cerre,[22] Pratte[23] and Roubidou,[24] are honorable and loyal

Governor Delassus testified that he was the right arm of the government. He married at St. Louis, 16 November, 1795, Marie-Julie Cerré, daughter of Gabriel Cerré and Catherine Giard. He had four children, and many of his descendants are now living in this city. He died 10 March, 1825; his widow survived him over twenty years, dying 9 March, 1845. Soulard and St. Vrain were close friends. Soulard, with Merriwether Lewis and Charles Gratiot, were subscribing witnesses to the document evidencing the transfer of Upper Louisiana.

[21] Jacques Clamorgan is said to have come to St. Louis from Guadelupe. His name appears first in the archives in 1784. He was a man of some education, wrote good French, and was active, bold and enterprising. He was a leader in the first Missouri Fur Company and was in partnership with Regis Loisel. In 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, at page 283, is a letter from Robidou to Gayoso protesting against Clamorgan's business methods. His private life was not such as commended him to his fellow townsmen. After the transfer to the Americans, Clamorgan was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Quarter-Sessions. He died about the 1st day of November, 1814, leaving a family of mulatto children. For the Clamorgan Land Claim, see U. S. Reports, 11 Otto 822.

[22] Gabriel Cerré was born at Montreal, 12 August, 1734. He was engaged in business at Kaskaskia in 1755. In 1764 he married at Kaskaskia, Catherine Giard, a native of that place. He was active in the fur trade and accumulated a handsome fortune. He removed to St. Louis in 1779, and made his home at the northeast corner of Main and Vine streets. The census of 1791 showed that his household consisted of sixty-one persons, including forty-three slaves. His wife died 21 July, 1800; and he died 4 April, 1805. For a further account of Cerré, see 2 Missouri Histtorical Society Collections, No. 2, p. 58, and Professor Alvord's Edition of the Cahokia Records, cited above.

[23] Bernard Pratte, son of Jean Baptiste Pratte and Marianne Lalumandière, was born at Ste. Genivieve about 1772. He removed to St. Louis about 1793 and 12 May, 1794, married Emelie, daughter of Silvestre Labadie and Pelagie Chouteau. He engaged in business in St. Louis as a general merchant and so accumulated a fortune. Later he became a member of the fur trading houses of Berthold & Chouteau, and Pratte, Chouteau & Co. He was a general of militia; member of the first board of trustees of the town of St. Louis, and was appointed by Governor Merriwether Lewis, judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He died 1 April, 1836. His son Bernard was twice mayor of St. Louis, 1844, 1845. His daughter Emelie married Ramsay Crooks; Thérèse, Louis D. Peugnet, and Pelagie, Louis V. Bogy.

[24] Joseph Robidou was born in Canada in 1750. He was of mixed French

citizens. Gratiot[25] has talent and numerous connections with Canada. Finally, Mr. Zenon Trudeau is a truthful man, and Mr. Carlos Howard can very well get from him full information about each individual.

There is a certain Pepin,[26] a systematic man with a talent

and Spanish blood, his immigrant ancestor to Canada, who married in Quebec in 1667, having been a Spaniard. He came to St. Louis with his father, who also bore the name of Joseph in 1770. He married 21 September, 1784, Catherine Rollet *dit* Laderoute. He engaged in the fur trade and thereby acquired a comfortable fortune. He died 17 March, 1809. He had ten children, of whom the elder, Joseph, was the founder of St. Joseph, Missouri. Descendants bearing the name are still living in St. Louis.

[25] Charles Gratiot was born in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1752. He came of a Huguenot family which had emigrated from La Rochelle, to escape religious persecution. When he was a boy he was sent to London, where he lived some years with an uncle. In 1769 he went to Canada, where he had an uncle with whom he lived at Montreal for about five years. In 1777 he came to the Illinois and established himself in business at Cahokia. The next year he lent valuable assistance to George Rogers Clark, and lent a large sum of money on the faith of bills on the Virginia treasury, which bills were never paid. Gratiot was one of the judges of the Cahokia Court after Clark's conquest and down to July, 1780. Early in 1781 he removed to St. Louis. Here he engaged in business of various kinds, mercantile, milling, distilling and farming, and acquired a competency. On 25 June, 1781, he married Victoire, the eldest daughter of Madame Chouteau. They had thirteen children, of whom nine reached maturity. Gratiot visited Europe in 1791 and again in 1793. After the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States he was appointed, by William Henry Harrison, the first presiding justice of the Court of Quarter-Sessions; his associates being Auguste Chouteau and David Delaunay. He held this position until 1 July, 1807, when he was succeeded by Silas Bent. For several years after the incorporation of St. Louis he was a member of the town board of trustees, and during the years 1811, 1812 and 1813 he was chairman of the board. He died 20 April, 1817, and his widow died 15 June, 1825. Gratiot was a man of handsome and distinguished personal appearance, great intellectual ability, sterling integrity and possessed of many lovable qualities. A street in the city and a railway station in the suburbs now bear his name.

See Professor Alvord's Cahokia Records, cited above, which contains a good picture of Gratiot.

[26] The name Pepin appears in this place just as in the other. We have seen that Pepin was a restless spirit and not disposed to be submissive to the government. But there is no reason for this passage with relation to the person whose arrest has been heretofore commanded. And, in addition, Pepin appears not to have had a talent for writing. We have no papers of which he is known to have been the author, and in writing

for writing, but he is a restless spirit and an enemy of our government, on which he spoke with acrimony and falsehood to General Collot, from whom I have received these particulars; and said Mr. Zenon Trudeau being present, as said general assured me, Mr. Carlos Howard will get information whether or not this is a fact. In case of the affirmative, he will send him to me, a prisoner with the others, although it is more than probable that he is one of the main ones of the Sansculottes Society; consequently, after his departure he

in the literal sense, he was unskilled. He could write his name in a labored way, but frequently he contented himself with a cross mark. The name Papin is so similar that it may well be what was here intended. Joseph Marie Papin was a well-known person in St. Louis at that time. Little has been learned about his characteristics, but that he was skilled with the pen is certain. His handwriting is beautiful to look at, and is the work of a man who was familiar with such employment, and, so far as a judgment may be founded upon the writing alone, the work of a systematic man. The Society has two of his private letters written in 1780, which show that he was a man interested in public affairs, but manifest no seditious spirit.

Joseph Marie Papin was born at Montreal, 6 November, 1741. His father was Joseph Papin and his mother Marguerite Pepin *dit* Laforce. He was the fourth generation in Canada, his immigrant ancestor having come from the province of Maine in France. Joseph Papin and his son Joseph Marie seem to have come together to St. Louis some time prior to April, 1769, when the name first appears in the archives. Joseph Marie returned to Canada, and during his absence his father died at the home of Bissonet, northwest corner of Main and Olive streets, 18 April, 1772. By his will, which was executed 9 April, 1772, Joseph Papin left all of his property to his son, his wife, and other children, having died prior to his coming to St. Louiss. Joseph Marie soon returned to St. Louis, and on 9 January, 1779, he married Marie Louise, youngest daughter of Madame Chouteau, who was born July, 1764. His home was on the southwest corner of Main and Pine streets, the house being placed a little back from Main street and about a quarter of the block south from Pine. M. Papin was, by his marriage, connected with the leading people of the village, and he seems to have been active in the village life. His name frequently appears as one of the arbitrators in law suits brought before the Governor. No reason has been discussed, aside from this paper, for believing that he was ever molested because of his political opinions. He had eight sons and six daughters. Several of his sons were active and prominent in the fur trade, and the name was well known from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Papinsville, in Vernon County, Missouri, was named for the fourth son, Pierre Millecour. The family has numerous representatives in St. Louis at the present time. Joseph Marie Papin died 18 September, 1811, and his widow died 27 February, 1817.

will proceed in a summary way against him, the same as against those who have been sent to the capital on trial for their excesses.

In case the enemy attacks the town of St. Louis with such superior forces as to deprive us of any hope of a dignified (*decorosa*) defense, which I consider almost impossible, I mean if he could not bring with him any artillery of a regular caliber, the lieutenant-colonel, Mr. Howard, will try to destroy all the artillery and ammunition which cannot be embarked, and will withdraw to New Madrid, removing it from there also as soon as the enemy would come with forces much superior, in such way as to be able to gather in Arkansas all those that defend Upper Louisiana, and fortify themselves in that post, to cover the settlements in the inland on the western side of the Mississippi, and to molest the ships of the enemies, who may try to go down the Mississippi, until they receive further orders from the Commander General of the province.

The zeal, prudence and activity and love to the royal service that he has shown in the command of the Florida frontier causes me to hope that in cases not provided by these instructions, he will always take such course as will tend to establish the glory of the arms and the tranquillity of Upper Louisiana upon a solid foundation honorable to the Spanish name.

New Orleans, 26 November, 1796.

NOTES.

The New Librarian.—The Society considers itself very fortunate to have secured the services of Miss Idress Head as Librarian. Miss Head is a native of the "Boon's-Lick Country," of which her progenitors were pioneer settlers. For several years Miss Head was private secretary to Hon. Louis Houck, and aided him in the preparation of his History of Missouri. She acquired, in this employment, a knowledge of and a familiarity with the French and Spanish records, which gives her peculiar fitness for her position. And the fact that she possesses such fitness has been demonstrated in many ways since she assumed the duties of the office.

The New Madrid Archives.—The following is reprinted from *The Weekly Record*, New Madrid, February 15, 1908:

"It has long been known that the most interesting and important historical documents relating to the early settlement of Upper Louisiana are the old Spanish and French archives found in the office of J. W. Jackson, recorder of deeds of New Madrid County.

Miss Idress Head, the Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, in St. Louis, an accomplished scholar and historian, called on our county court last week, and after stating her mission, the court made the following order:

'Now comes Miss Idress Head, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, and makes application that the old Spanish and French papers which have been heretofore delivered by this court to the Honorable Louis Houck, of Cape Girardeau, and which have by him been preserved and bound, for which service and interest the court extends thanks upon behalf of the people of New Madrid county, be transferred to the Missouri Historical Scoiety, there to be kept, preserved, deposited and to remain in trust for New Madrid County.

Therefore, be it ordered that said application be, and the same is, hereby sustained, and it is the judgment and order of this court that as said papers contain the early history of New Madrid, which was among the earliest of the settlements by Spain and France of what is known as the Louisiana Purchase, and are of value to the state of Missouri at large, and that they will be safer and of more benefit deposited with the Missouri Historical Society, that the same be there transferred and remain in Trust for New Madrid County forever.'"

The Missouri Historical Society accepts the trust imposed upon it by the New Madrid county court. It will see to it that the papers are safely preserved, and will, as soon as it is possible to do so, have the collection indexed and the more important papers translated and published. The collection consists of eleven folio volumes of original documents, illustrating every phase of the life of that time. Except for the interest of Mr. Houck, these papers would doubtless have been burned with the New Madrid court house.

J. Gilman Chouteau.—By the will of the late J. Gilman Chouteau, who died in St. Louis on January 12, 1908, the Missouri Historical Society has become the fortunate legatee of his valuable family papers, which include correspondence of his grandfather, Colonel Auguste Chouteau, one of the founders of St. Louis, and documents of the earliest period in the city's history. The papers are so numerous that much time will be required properly to classify them. As soon as practicable, the most interesting will be made accessible by publication in the Missouri Historical Society Collections. That the papers are still in existence is due to a remarkable circumstance which is related in the next paragraph. Mr. Chouteau, the testator, was born in St. Louis, December 2, 1836, the son of Henry and Clemence (Coursault) Chouteau. All his life was spent in St. Louis, except a few years in his early manhood, which he devoted to extensive foreign travel. In partnership with James Edwards, he was engaged for some years in the milling business at Waterloo, Illinois, with offices

in St. Louis. He was a bachelor and had few close friends. When the Southern Hotel was rebuilt after being destroyed by fire in the late seventies, he moved into the new hostlery the first day it was ready for occupancy, being the first person to sign the new register, and the room then assigned to him he lived in continuously till his death. His habits were extraordinarily rigid. Each day he would start out from the hotel at a regular time to make a round of inspection of the houses which he owned. Persons in the neighborhood to whom his figure was well known were said to be able to tell the exact time of day from seeing him pass by on his daily errand.

Chouteau Papers.—The following is taken from the editorial columns of *The St. Louis Times* of January 16, 1908:

"FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

"There is an interesting story in connection with the bequest by the late J. Gilman Chouteau of his family papers and documents to the Missouri Historical Society, which should serve as a warning to those of our citizens who may have in their possession papers of unascertained historical value. Several years ago, when a vacant warehouse belonging to Mr. Chouteau was cleaned out for occupancy, the owner learned that several barrels of old papers, which had been reposing there for years, had been carted off and sold for junk. Recognizing that they might possibly have some historical value, he started out to recover them, if possible. They were traced to the bin of a paper concern, where they had been dumped and intermingled with tons of waste paper. At his own expense, Mr. Chouteau hired some of the employes to sort out what they could find of the old papers. They spent several days at the task, with the permission of the employers, and recovered a large portion. The donor himself did not measure their importance, but wisely provided that they should go to the Historical Society, where they will be examined, classified and permanently safeguarded.

"Few persons are able to realize that more or less historical value attaches to all old letters, documents and family papers that have accumulated in garrets and old trunks. How many times we hear of people burning up 'such trash' when they clean house or move.

"Old correspondence, diaries, account books, pamphlets, legal documents and other evidences of bygone days can have no present value to private persons equal to that which they would have to historians. Much is yet to be learned and recorded of not only the early French days of St. Louis, but also the succeeding decades of the last century, covering the pioneer business life, the troublesome Civil War period and the post-bellum development of the city.

Let citizens and the city profit by Mr. Chouteau's experience."

Naming the Public School Buildings.—Up to a recent date, the naming of the public school buildings in St. Louis seems to have been largely a matter of opportunism. No system seems to have been followed or considered. If the death of some notable person occurred about the time a school was to be named, that was reason enough why it should be named for such person. An examination of the list of names will show that politics, religion and foreign nationality have all had their influence in determining the choice. In later years a different spirit has developed. It has been realized that Missouri names are not wholly inappropriate for Missouri schools for Missouri children. No better choice of names could be made than those of William Clark, Edward Hempstead and Rose Fanning. There is another name that should by no means be overlooked. The first schoolmaster to exercise his calling in St. Louis was Jean Baptiste Trudeau. He was born in Canada in 1748, came here in 1774, and died probably at Ste. Genevieve about 1824. He taught school in St. Louis for about fifty years. He appears in the first Directory, his school being then (1821) on the south side of Pine Street, between Main and Second streets. In 1795 he made a voyage up the Missouri in the employ of "*la Compagnie du haut du Missouris,*" of which voyage he wrote a very interesting account, a portion of which is preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington. A transcript of this is in the library of the Missouri Historical Society. He was also a writer of verse and judging from the

sample which has remained to us (the "*Chanson du Coup*"), his verse was not so bad.

His ability and faithfulness as a teacher was testified to by his kinsman, Governor Trudeau, in a paper which is of record in the St. Louis archives. That he was a man of good character appears in many ways. For many years he was one of *las personas notables* who were annually called together to elect a "mayor-domo" of the church of this parish. In this connection his name regularly appears along with that of the Governor, of Chouteau, Soulard, Sarpy and other leading men of the village. For many years he returned for taxation only the property which had been given to him by his kinsman, the Governor (assessed at $400.00). He died in poverty; the profession to which he had devoted his life having barely afforded him the means of subsistence. In naming a school building for Trudeau the School Board would honor itself more than him. And might we be permitted to suggest to the Board, in all humility, that it is worth considering whether it is necessary to go to Virginia, to New England or to Germany for a name, while that of the illustrious Doniphan remains to be used? For the new high school, we beg to suggest that no name could be more appropriate or meet with greater favor with the people than that of the founder of the city—Laclede.

"Doniphan's Expedition, *and the Conquest of New Mexico and California*," by William Elsey Connelley. (Reprint of Hughes' work, 1847.) Topeka, Kansas. Published by the author, 1907.

The romantic story of Doniphan's Expedition, one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Mexican War, graphically told by several contemporaneous writers but by none better than by John T. Hughes, a participant, deserves to be kept ever fresh in the memory of the American people. Whether because the Mexican War left a bad taste in the mouths of our people or was simply overshadowed by the more important events of the Civil War, the fact remains

that it is recalled with less vividness than any of our other conflicts. Sixty years have passed since Hughes' picturesque story was first given to the public in a little book published by the Jameses of Cincinnati. For rescuing the half-forgotten work and putting it forth again in new dress, with annotations and appended matter, thereby calling the attention of the present generation to this unparalleled military adventure, thanks are due to William E. Connelley of Topeka, Kansas. He has reprinted the work under the original title, "Doniphan's Expedition." Had he generously given the author a little more credit on the cover and the title page of the reprint, and modestly contented himself with the ample editorial honors that are his, he would not be open to the charge of having shown not the best taste. Much can be forgiven him on this account, however, in return for having dug up and presented the hitherto unprinted diary kept by Hughes during the campaign. This and the sketch of Hughes' life constitute the most valuable new matter joined with the reprint. Hughes' contribution to the military history of the Southwest was so valuable that it is gratifying to learn somewhat more of his personality than may be gained from reading the original text, in which one finds scarcely any reference to himself, and it appears from Doniphan's own tribute, following Hughes' heroic death on a battlefield of the Civil War, that there was no member of the expedition more gallant or more daring than Hughes, the historian. We are delighted to find that he was the first to volunteer for hazardous missions, and are thrilled to hear that he killed a noted Indian chief, the head of a desparate band, in personal conflict in an open field. His record in the Civil War, as colonel of the First Missouri Infantry (Confederate), is equally moving. The editor tells us that prior to the War "Hughes was outspoken for the Union," that he canvassed northwest Missouri and published a newspaper in opposition to secession. The result of his efforts and others was to hold Missouri to the Union. Therefore when we are told in the same breath that he "believed in the justice of the cause of the state"

and went over to the South in the absence of clarifying information from the editor we are left rather in the dark as to the reason for his apparent inconsistency. Mr. Connelley has introduced ahead of the Hughes matter an apotheosis of the early Missourians, a sketch of Doniphan, by D. C. Allen, Esq., of Liberty, Mo., and (rather irrelevantly) a sketch of Sterling Price, all of them weakened by a tendency to hyperbolic praise. However great a man Doniphan may have been, and he undoubtedly had unusual claims to greatness, to call him "one of the greatest American lawyers" is possibly drawing the long bow. Gifted with rare eloquence, he became successful as an advocate in jury trials, but his one great claim to everlasting distinction was the conduct of a military expedition outrivaling that of Xenophon.

The official rosters of the troops under Doniphan, following the reprint text, should prove a useful and convenient reference. In the appendices are a few additional biographical sketches of participants, a reprinted interview with Doniphan and other matter more or less related to the work. Ardent, painstaking labor on the part of the editor is manifest, and in spite of minor scientific faults the work is an acceptable supplement to the history of the Mexican War. Popularly it should, if pushed, find many readers.

Houck's History of Missouri.—We are informed that this book may be expected to issue from the press in the course of the next few weeks. The writing of this history has been a labor of love to which Mr. Houck has, for the last twenty years, given the spare moments of an unusually active and busy life. For materials he has ransacked the archives of every country known to possess anything bearing upon early Missouri.

For excellence in its execution, as well as for its intrinsic interest, the work will easily hold the front rank among state histories. Since it reaches only to the admission of Missouri to the Union, it is greatly to he hoped that Mr. Houck will supplement it with a volume giving an account of the people and events of his own time.

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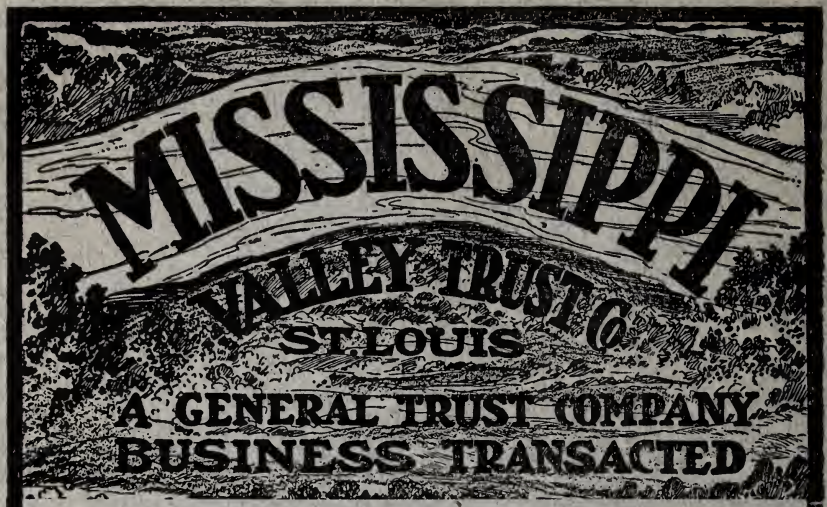

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